This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08159525 2

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN
FOUNDATIONS

7

7

8) 49 | 6

4 8

C-13
6202

TRAVELS

IN

VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA.

BY EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL. D.

PART II. SECTION II.

GREECE, EGYPT, AND THE HOLY LAND.

VOLUME IV.

THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY JACOB GILLET.

Van Winkle and Wiley, Printers.

1815.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN
FOUNDATIONS

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONTENTS.

PART II. SECT. II.

VOL. IV.

CHAP. XI.

PAROS TO ATHENS.

Page 1.

Voyage to *Syros*—Affecting Interview—Syra—Plants—Remains of Ancient Customs—Gems and Medals—State of the Island—Voyage to *Gyarus*—Hydriots—Wretched condition of Jura—Voyage to *Zia*—Carthæa—Ravages committed by the Russians—Ruins of *Ioulis*—Medals—Hospitality of the modern Greeks—Ancient Dances—Produce of Zia—Minerals—The author sails for *Athens*—View near the mouth of the *Sinus Saronicus*—Sunium—Temple of *Minerva Sunias*—Anecdote of a naval Officer—*Patrocleïa*—Other Islands in the Saronic Gulf—*Calaurea*—Albanians—Elimbô—First sight of Athens—*Zoster* Promontory—Doubtful story of Minerva's Statue—Arrival at the *Piræeus*—Approach to Athens.

CHAP. XII.

ATHENS.

P. 26.

Origin of the fabulous contest between Neptune and Minerva—ancient Sepulchral Monument—Excavations at Athens—View of the Cecropian Citadel—Funereal aspect of the city—Objects in the perspective—State of the *Antiquities*—Interesting Relic—Remarks upon entering Athens—*Guilletiere*—ascent of the Acropolis—Adytum of Pan—Ἱερὰ of the Greeks—Portable Shrines—Statue of Pan—Celebrated artist—Spoliation of the Temples—Comparison between the Grecian and Roman Buildings—*Athenian, Posidonian,* and *Æginetan* Architecture—Cause of the injury sustained in the Sculpture of the *Parthenon*—Splendid representation of the *Panathenæa*—Description of the work—The *Cothurnus,* and *Petasus* or *Pileus*—Practice of gilding and painting Statues—Marbles used in the Acropolis—Singular construction of the *Erecthëum*—Of the *Prytaneum*—Temples of *Pandrosus* and *Minerva Polias*—Of the Olive and Well—*Propylea*—Walls of the Acropolis—Od um of *Regilla*—General Description of the Theatres of Greece—*Areopagus*—Temple of Theseus.

CHAP. XIII.

ATHENS.

P. 62.

Temple of the Winds—Unknown Structure of the Corinthian Order.—The *Bazar*—Population and Trade of Athens—State of the Arts—Manufacture of Pictures—Monochrome Painting of the Ancients—Terra-Cotta—Origin of Painting and Pottery among the Greeks—Medals and Gems—Explanation of the *Amphora* as a symbol upon Athenian Coins—*Ptolemæum*—Ancient Marbles—*Theseum*—Grave of TWEDDELL—Description of the Temple—*Areopagus*—Piræean Gate—*Pnyx*—Monument on the *Museum*—Ancient Wall—*Theatre* and *Cave of Bacchus*—Monument of *Thrasyllus*—Choragic Pillars—Remarkable Inscription—Origin of the Crypt—Ice Plant in its native state—*Arch of Hadrian*—Its origin—When erected—*Temple of Jupiter Olympius*—Discordant accounts of this building—Reasons for the name assigned to it—*Ilissus*—Fountain *Callirhoë*—False notions entertained of the River—*Stadium Panathenaicum*—Sepulchre of Herodes—Hadrian's Reservoir—*Mount Anchesmus*—View from the Summit.

CHAP. XIV.

ATHENS.

P. 97.

Excavations—Great Antiquity of the Athenian Wells—Curious inscription upon a *Terra-cotta* Lamp—Excursion to *Hymettus*—Temple of *Diana*—Monastery—Visit to the summit of the Mountain—Plants—Panoramic survey of the country—Return to *Athens*—Singular adventure that befel the author—Description of the Ceremonies of the Bath, as practised by the Turkish and Grecian Women—Further observations in the *Acropolis*—Inscriptions—Specimen of *Cadmæan Characters*—Additional remarks upon the *Parthenon*—Effect of sunset behind the mountains of Peloponnesus.

CHAP. XV.

PELOPONNESUS.

P. 117.

Departure from Athens for the *Peloponnesus*—Extraordinary talents of a *Calmuck* artist—Further account of the *Piræeus*—the "*long walls*"—Tomb of *Themistocles*—Its situation—Remains of this monument—Objects visible in passing the Gulf—*Ægina*—Temple of *Jupiter Panhellenius*—Antiquities near the port—*Anchestri* Isle—Ignorance of the pilot—*Epidda*—Greek Medals—*Arbutus Andrachne*—Appearance of the country—*Liguris*—*Conik*, or Inn—*Coroni*—*Cathedra* of a Greek Theatre—*Hieron*—Mountains—Temple of *Æsculapius*—*Stadium*—Architectural *Terra-cottas*—Temple of the *Coryphæan Diana*—Temple of *Apollo*—Circular Edifice—Theatre of *Polycletus*—Epidaurian Serpent—Aspect of the *Coilon*—Perfect state of the Structure—Dimensions and detail of the parts—Journey to *Nauplia*—*Lissa*—Dorian and Egyptian Antiquities—*Arachnæus Mons*—*Cyclopia*—*Nauplia*—House of the Consul—Turkish Gazette—Public Rejoicings—*Athletæ*—*Pyrrhica*—Popula-

tion—Air—Commerce—Gipsies—Characteristic features of Grecian Cities—*Tiryns*—Celtic and Phœnician Architecture—Origin of the *Cyclopian* style—History of *Tiryns*—Character of its Inhabitants.

CHAP. XVI.

PELOPONNESUS.

P. 153.

Further inquiry into the origin of *Tiryns*—Road to Argos—River *Inachus*—Plants and Minerals—*Argos*—*Terra-cotta* Vases—Ignorance of their Sepulchral use—Hecate's Supper—Lectisternium—Probable cause of depositing Earthen Vessels in Sepulchres—Origin of the Custom—Population of Argos—Antiquities—Theatre—*Hieron* of *Venus*—*Diras*—*Cyclopia*—Alcyonian Lake—Oracular Shrine—Other remains of the City Character of the Ancient Argives—View of the Argive Plain—Fabulous contest between Neptune and Juno—*Hieron* of *Ceres Mysias*—Antiquity of *fictile* materials in building—*Mycenæ*—State of the Ruins—Extraordinary Sepulchre—not the Treasury of Atreus—Heroum of Perseus—*Sophocles*—Internal evidence of his having visited the spot Of the Δῶμα and Περιπλοία—*Tomb* of *Agamemnon*—Interior of the *Tumulus*—Enormous Lintel—Use of the *triangular cavity* above the Entrance—Inner Chamber—*Leonine Gate*—Dimensions and description of the *Propylæa*—Mythological Symbols—Consecrated Gates—Of the *Pylagoræ*—Ægyptian Characteristics—Worship of the Sun—Walls of *Mycenæ*.

CHAP. XVII.

PELOPONNESUS.

P. 188.

Journey to *Nemea*—Defile of *Treitus*—Cave of the *Nemeæan Lion*—Fountain of *Archemorus*—Temple of the *Nemeæan Jupiter*—Albanians—Monument of *Lycurgus*—Nemeæan River—*Apesas*—Sicyon Plain—*Sicyon*—*Theatre*—Prospect from the *Collon*—*Stadium*—*Temple of Bacchus*—Other Antiquities—Medals—Paved Way—Fertility of the Land—*Corinth*—Fountain of the Nymph *Pirene*—*Sisyphéum*—Temple of *Octavia*—Visit to the Governor—*Odéum*—Climate of Corinth

CHAP. XVIII.

PELOPONNESUS AND ATTICA.

P. 299.

Visit to the *Isthmus*—Remains of the ancient Vallum—Canal of *Nero*—*Lechæum*—Cinerary receptacles in the rocks—Remarkable *Tumulus*—*Acrorinthus*—Ascent to the Citadel—*Hiera*—Prospect from the Summit—*Hexamilia*—Discovery of the town of *Isthmus*—Port *Schœnis*—Temple of *Neptune*—*Theatre*—*Stadium*—Sepulchre of *Palæmon*—Trees from which Victors in the *Isthmia* were crowned—Extraordinary mart for Grecian Medals—Dress of the Levant Consuls—Pandæan Horn—*Chenchreæ*—Bath of Helen—*Convangee*—*Cromyon*—Manners of the Peasants—*Scironian* Defile—Boundary between *Peloponnesus* and *Hellas*—ΚΑΚΗ ΣΚΑΛΑ—Entrance of *Hellas*—Causes of the celebrity of *Megara*—The modern Town—Inscriptions—Journey to *Eleusis*—*Kerata*—Eleusinian

Plain—*Acropolis of Eleusis*—Marble Torso—The *Flowery Well*—Aqueduct—*Temple of Ceres*—Statue of the Goddess—Superstition of the Inhabitants—Inscription—Sudden departure for *Athens*—*Via Sacra*—Vast extent of Ancient *Thrace*—The *Rhêti*—Eleusinian *Cephissus*—Salt Lake—Defile of *Daphne*—The rock called *Pœcile*—Temple of *Venus*—Monastery of Daphne—*Hieron* of *Apollo*—View of Athens at sunset—Athenian *Cephissus*—Site of the *Academy*—Arrival at *Athens*—Negotiation with the *Waiwode*—Return to *Eleusis*—Method devised for removing the *Statue of Ceres*—Difficulties encountered—Success of the undertaking—Further account of *Eleusis*—Long Walls—Of the *Rharian* and *Thriasian* Plains—Temples of *Triptolemus*, of *Neptune*, and of *Diana Propylæa*—Temple of *Ceres*—Port of *Eleusis*—Ancient *Theatre*—Acropolis—Return to *Athens*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 245.

APPENDIX, No. I.

P. 249.

Extract from Colonel Squire's MS. Journal; giving an account of Caiffa, Acre, &c. and of his Interviews with Djezzar Pasha.

No. II.

P. 258.

On the Discovery by Colonel Capper of the Existence of Ancient Pagan Superstitions in Mount Libanus, particularly those which relate to the Worship of Venus.

No. III.

P. 262.

A Catalogue of Books in the Hellenic and in the Romaic Languages, printed at Venice, at the press of Theodosius of Yanina, with their prices in Venetian Liri and Soldi.

No. IV.

P. 266.

Temperature of the Atmosphere, according to Diurnal Observations made during the Journey; with a corresponding Statement of the Temperature in England during the same period.

No. V.

P. 269.

Names of places visited in the Author's Route.

No. VI.

P. 271.

Remarks on the Libraries of Greece, by the Rev. R. Walpole, M. A. &c.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF CONTENTS.

PART II. SECT. II.

VOL. III:

PREFACE *to the Second Section of Part the Second.*

CHAP. I.

VOYAGE FROM SYRIA TO EGYPT.

Page 1.

The Romulus makes preparation for sailing—The Author takes leave of Djezzar—Further account of Acre—Existence of the POINTED ARCH in the Holy Land, and elsewhere in the East—Anecdote of Deare, an English Sculptor—Voyage to Egypt—Accident which befel the Romulus—Arrival at Aboukir—The Braakel receives orders to convoy a squadron to Marseilles—French prisoners—Author narrowly escapes being conveyed to France—Discovery of the Worship of Astaroth upon Mount Libanus—Dangerous passage of the Bar at the mouth of the Nile—Fort St. Julian—State of Affairs in Rosetta—Price of Provisions—Manufacture of Coffee—Curious remains of Pointed Arches—Probable Consequence of the Interruption of the Mecca Pilgrimage—Exhibition of the PSYLLI, or Serpent-Eaters.

CHAP. II.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE TO GRAND CAIRO.

P. 19.

Example afforded by a Naval Officer—Inaccuracy in the Maps of Egypt—Triple Harvest of the Delta—Mode of raising Water from the Nile—Summer Habits of the Egyptian Arabs—FICUS SYCAMORUS—Etesian Winds—MOTUBIS—Dancing Women—DEBE—SINDION and DERRUL—Turkish Cavalry—Arab Customs—FOUA—RACHMANIE—Description of the Country—Diseases—Facility of visiting Upper Egypt—KOUM SCHERIFF—AMBUS—Birds—Singular Animal Appearance—Plants—EL BURRDGIAT—Remarkable Phenomenon—Tumblers—Abundance of Corn—Southern Point of the Delta—Arrival at BULAC—View of the Pyramids—Visit to the Reis Effendi—House of the French Institute—Jewel Market—Interior of Caïro—Jugglers—Trees—Incense—Gum Arabic—Plagues of Egypt—Statistics of Caïro—British Army from India—Dinner given by the Commander-in-chief—Discovery made by Brahmins in Upper Egypt—Examination of an Abyssian concerning Bruce's Travels—Fidelity of that Traveller's Observations confirmed.

CHAP. III.

GRAND CAIRO.

P. 46.

Arabic Language, as spoken in Egypt—Dress of Women in Caïro—State of Society—Houses—Gardens—Ceremony of Ululation in honour of the

Dead—Exaggerated descriptions of the Country—Supposed Sacrifice of a Virgin to the Nile—Book Market—Ancient medals in Circulation—Custom of the Arabs in passing a Bridge—Appearance of Women in the Streets—Enormities practised by the Turks—Extortions—Discovery of a curious Manuscript—Citadel—Pointed Arches—Interesting Inscription—Mosaic Painting—Present State of the Art—Joseph's Well—Origin of the Citadel—View from the Ramparts.

CHAP. IV.

HELIOPOLIS, AND THE PYRAMIDS OF DJIZA.

P. 64.

Passage along the Canal—Visit to HELIOPOLIS—Matarèa—Pillar of ON—Style of the Hieroglyphics—Intelligence concerning them—Their Archetypes—*Crux ansata*—Its meaning explained—Of the *Hieralpha* and the *Testudo*—Other Symbols—Kircher—History of the Obelisk—Minerals of the Arabian Desert—Doubtful origin of Egyptian Jasper—Petrifactions—Dates and Corn—ALMEHS—Of the Alleluia and cry of lamentation—Voyage to the PYRAMIDS—Appearance presented by the principal Pyramid—Objects seen from the Summit—Nature of the Limestone used in its construction—Extraneous Fossil described by Strabo—Mortar—Labours of the French Army—Theft committed by an Arab—Visit to the interior of the larger Pyramid—Notions entertained of its violation—Its passages—Observation at the *Well*—Examination of some inferior Channels—Chamber of the Sepulchre—*The* SOROS—Its demolition attempted—*The* SPHINX—Its surface found to be painted—Discovery of an Ancient Inscription—Custom of painting Ancient Statues—Extract from *Pauw*.

CHAP. V.

PYRAMIDS OF SACCARA.

P. 102.

Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids—Audience of the Vizier—Voyage to Saccára—Nocturnal Festivities of an Arab Village—Appearance of the Country to the South of Cairo—*Indigofera*—Situation of Memphis—*Tumulus* seen among the Pyramids—The most ancient Sepulchres not pyramidal—Village of Saccára—Difference between the Pyramids of Saccára and those of Djiza—Descent into the Catacombs—Notion founded on a passage in Herodotus—Evidence for the Horizontal Position of the Bodies—Difficulty of ascertaining the truth—Repository of Embalmed Birds—Cause of their interment—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Antelope—Antiquities found by the Arabs—Horses of the Country—Theft detected—History of the Pyramids—Manner of investigation—Age of those Structures—Their Sepulchral Origin—Possible cause of the violation of the principal Pyramid—Historical Evidence concerning the building of the Pyramids in Egypt—Further view of the subject—Hermetic Stélæ—Mexican Pyramids.

CHAP. VI.

GRAND CAIRO TO ROSETTA.

P. 132.

Monastery of the Propagandists—Marriage Procession—Visit to the Reis Effendi—First Intelligence concerning the Alexandrian SOROS—Preparation for Departure—Arrival of the Covering for the *Caaba* at Mecca—Escape of four Ladies—Passage down the Nile—Chemical Analysis of the Water and Mud of the River—Remains of the City of Saïs—Antiquities Bronze Relics—Anatriform Sceptre of the Priests and Kings of

Egypt—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Enumeration of the Archetypes—Curious Torso of an ancient Statue—Triple Hierogram with the Symbol of the *Cross*—its meaning explained—Mahallet Abouali—Berinbal—Ovens for hatching Chickens—Tombs at Massora Shibrecki—Birds—Arrival at Rosetta—Mr. Hammer sails for England—State of Rosetta at this season of the year.

CHAP. VII.

ROSETTA TO ALEXANDRIA.

P. 159.

Voyage to Aboukir—Visit to Lord Keith—Journey to Alexandria—Arrival at the British camp—Communication with Lord Hutchinson—Entrance into the French garrison—Wretched state of the inhabitants—Visit from a party of Merchants—Discovery of the *Tomb of Alexander*—Circumstances of its removal by the French—Its situation upon the author's arrival—Internal evidence of its Authenticity—Other Antiquities collected by the French—Cleopatra's Needles—*Pompey's Pillar*—Discovery of the Inscription—Sepulchral origin of the Column—Manner of its Support—Proof that it was erected by the Romans—Restoration of the legend upon the Pedestal—Events that occurred after the death of Pompey—Shrine constructed by Cæsar—Testimony of the Arabian Historians—Hadrian's monument to his horse—Traditionary name of the Pillar founded on historical evidence—Interview with Menou—Surrender of the Rosetta Tablet—Intercourse between the armies—French Institute—Catacombs of Necropolis—*Serapeum* of *Racotis*—Of *Hades* and of *Ammon*—Cause of such elaborate sepulchres—Descent into the *Cryptæ*—Remarkable Symbol—Imperfect accounts of the Alexandrian Antiquities—Conduct of the Capudan Pasha.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDRIA TO COS.

P. 201.

Preparations for Leaving Egypt—Journey to Aboukir—Cities of *Nicopolis*, *Taposiris Parva*, and *Canopus*—Uncertainty of their Topography—*Thonis*—Changes which have taken place upon the Coast—*Heraclium*—Aboukir Bay—Turkish Frigate—Persons composing her crew—Discipline at sea—Bay of Finica—Meteoric Phenomena—Eastern coast of Rhodes—Lindus—Southern shores of Asia Minor—Bay of Marmora—Rhodes—Cos—Town of Stanchio—Situation of the French Consul—Ancient Sculpture—Inscriptions—*Asclepieum*—Votive Offerings—Singular Article of the Mahometan Law—Population, Commerce, and Produce of Cos.

CHAP. IX.

COS TO PATMOS.

P. 225.

Messenger from the Vizier—Botanical Discoveries—Casiot Vessel—Ancient custom of singing Vespers—*Leria* and *Lepsia*—Arrival at *Patmos*—Critical situation of a part of the French army—Monastery of St. John—Library—Ignorance of the Monks—Manuscripts—Discovery of the *Patmos Plato*—Other valuable Works—Manuscript in the hand writing of *Alexius Comnenus*—State of the Island—Ancient Medals—Extensive Prospect—Holy Grotto—Dinner given by the French Officers—Barthelemy—Women of the Island—Bells—Stratagem for obtaining the Greek Manuscripts—Fruitless attempt to leave the Island—View of *Samos*—*Icaria*—Western port of *Patmos*—Geological phenomena—Plants and

Animals—Marble *Cippi*—Departure from *Patmos*—Prognostics of Greek Mariners.

CHAP. X.

PATMOS TO PAROS.

P. 253.

Gale of Wind—Vessel driven to the south of Naxos—Panormo—Independent Shepherds—Appearance of the Island—Minerals—Naxian Boccaze—Town of Naxos—Manuscripts—Inhabitants—Population—Antiquities—Inscriptions—Sculpture—Medals—Gems—Colossal Statue—Temple of Bacchus—Other Ruins—*Smerighio*—Arrival at Paros—*Parechia*—Castle—Inscriptions—Ship Stranded—Antiparos—Grotto—Its possible origin—Mode of Descent—Description of the interior—Nature of the Stalactites—Manner of their deposition—Paradoxical Phenomena—Crystallization of Alabaster—*Arragonite*—Visit of the French Ambassador—*Oliaros*—Ancient quarries of Parian Marble—*Marpessus*—Cause of the prevalence of Parian Marble in Grecian Sculpture—Marvellous skill of the ancients in working the Quarries—Bas-relief—Explanation of the Inscription—Origin of the work—Evidence it affords—Theory of Crystallization.

CLARKE'S TRAVELS.

CHAP. XI.

PAROS TO ATHENS.

Voyage to Syros—*Affecting Interview—Syra—Plants—Remains of Ancient Customs—Gems and Medals—State of the Island—Voyage to* Gyarus—*Hydriots—Wretched Condition of Jura—Voyage to* Zïa—*Carthœa—Ravages committed by the Russians—Ruins of* Ioulis—*Medals—Hospitality of the Modern Greeks—Ancient Dances—Produce of Zïa—Minerals—the Author sails for* Athens—*View near the Mouth of the* Sinus Saronicus—Sunium—*Temple of* Minerva Sunias—*Anecdote of a Naval Officer*—Patrocleïa—*Other Islands in the Saronic Gulph*—Calaurea—*Albanians—Elimbô—First Sight of Athens*—Zoster *Promontory—Doubtful Story of Minerva's Statue—Arrival at the* Piræus—*Approach to Athens.*

From the quarries of Marpessus we descended again to Parechia; and the next day, the wind being favourable, although somewhat boisterous, we embarked, and set sail for Syros, now called *Syra.* Our captain would have steered for *Delos:* but this island, since the visit paid to it by the Russians, has been stripped of all its valuable antiquities; beside this, the gale we had encountered between Patmos and Naxos had somewhat intimidated us; and as our crazy old caïque was not seaworthy, we resolved to run for the most western port in our course toward the Saronic Bay, now called the *Gulf of Engia,* from a modern name of the island of *Ægina.* We saw the Delian Isles as we

passed with a rapidity known only to the *swallows** of the Archipelago, and entered the harbour of *Syra* in the morning of October the twenty-second. Our faithful Greek servant, who had travelled with us as our interpreter ever since we left Petersburg, burst into tears at the sight of a small chapel constructed upon a rock in the port, which he had himself assisted in building some years before. He described it as the votive offering of a party of young Greeks to their patron Saint: but his feelings experienced a severer trial when we landed; for in the person of an old man, established as a wine-seller upon the quay, he recognised his own father, of whose fortunes and situation he had long been ignorant. The islanders bore a part in the joy of this meeting; and their national hospitality was, in consequence, redoubled. All the young people came to express their congratulations, and a party began the *Roméca*.† Antonio hastened again on board for his *balalaika*,‡ and, joining the festive throng, gave himself up entirely to singing and dancing for the remainder of the day and night. Toward evening we saw him in the midst of a very numerous choir, inviting us to taste of the wine with which his father was making libations to all comers.

The town of Syra is built upon the summit of a lofty hill, so remarkable for its conical form that it may be compared to a vast sugar-loaf covered with houses. At the base of this cone is the quay, where there are several warehouses for supplying vessels with the produce of the island, which is principally wine. There are some ruins near the port; and many ancient marbles are said to remain buried behind the magazines. We met the English consul soon after we landed, and accompanied him to his house in the town; where we were regaled with an excellent conserve, highly esteemed by the Greeks, made of the *apples* (as they are called) of a species of sage, the *Salvia pomifera*: these apples are pro-

* This is one of the names given to the boats used for navigating the Archipelago.

† The *Roméca*, the most popular of all the dances of the modern Greeks, is faithfully and beautifully represented in the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* of Count De Choiseul Gouffier, from a drawing by *J. B. Hilair*, engraved by *Martini*. See plate facing p. 68. vol. I. of that work, *Paris*, 1782. "The passion of the Greeks for dancing," (says Mons. De Guys, vol. I. p. 208. *Lond.* 1781.) "is common to both sexes; who neglect every other consideration, when they have an opportunity of indulging that passion."

‡ The ancient guitar of Scythia and Tartary. *See Vol. I. of these Travels*, p. 160, mentioning its use among the Calmuck tribes.

duced in the same manner as galls upon the oak, and they are owing to punctures made by a species of *Cynips* in the branches of the plant. The common sage of the island of Crete has the same excrescences; which are there carried to market under the name of *sage-apples*.* This conserve is said to possess the healing and salutary quality of sage in general: we perceived it an agreeable astringent, and somewhat bitter flavour; but as almost any vegetable may be used for conserves, and the savour is often owing to other ingredients, very little of this taste might be owing to the produce of the sage. The plant itself thrives abundantly upon this island, growing to the size of a small shrub. Sage leaves are collected annually by the Greeks, and dried, to be used medicinally as an infusion: they are very particular in the time and manner of collecting these leaves; they are gathered on the first of May before sunrise. The flavour and smell of the Grecian sage is much more powerful than in the *salvia officinalis*, so common in the English gardens. We sometimes drank an infusion of the leaves instead of tea: it had the effect of exciting a profuse perspiration, and perhaps may be useful in those dangerous obstructions to which perspiration is liable in an eastern climate; but it produces languor, and even faintness, if it be used in any excess. In mentioning the plants of Syra, there is one of so much beauty and rarity that it ought not to pass without especial notice: it is called the *Tree Pink*, DIANTHUS ARBOREUS, and preëminently merits its lofty name of ΔΙΟΣ ΑΝΘΟΣ. It grows also in *Seriphos:* but Syra is the only place in all Greece whence we were able to obtain specimens; and we did not find these, ourselves, upon the island.† Perhaps the season was too far advanced to observe this beautiful ornament of the Grecian isles; for we were unable to find many other rarities which have been described as natives of Syra, although we remained two days in search of them, particularly the plant which produces the Persian *Manna*, mentioned by Tournefort,‡ *Hedysarum Alhagi*. The *Dianthus arboreus*, both in Syra

* Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. I. p. 93. *Lyons*, 1717.

† We were indebted for them to the kindness of Mr. Dodwell, who visited Syra in company with Mr. Gell. The former has since distinguished himself by his indefatigable researches in Greece, particularly by the attention he has bestowed upon the ancient sepulchres of the country.

‡ *Tournefort, Voyage du Levant*, tom. II. p. 4. *Lyons*, 1717. It is the *Alhagi Mouvorum* of Rauwolf. Sir George Wheler found it in Tinos. Manna is found on this plant in Mesopotamia and in other Eastern countries. (*See Russel's Aleppo.*) It grows plentifully near *Tauris*.

and in Seriphos,* sprouts out of the crevices of the most rugged and otherwise barren rocks. It was raised from seed in the royal garden at Paris, in the time of Tournefort; "where," says that author,† "it has sustained no change by its altered situation, but maintains the honours of Greece amidst an infinite number of rare plants from the same country." No traveller has yet added this very uncommon species of *Dianthus* to the botanic gardens of our island.

There is no other town or village upon the island excepting this, which so singularly covers the sugar-loaf hill above the quay; and the number of inhabitants does not exceed four thousand, almost all of whom profess the Catholic religion: yet there is no part of the Archipelago where the traveller will find the ancient customs of Greece more purely preserved. *Syros* was the original name of the town, as well as of the island. Some traces of its ruins still exist near the port. The modern town of Syra probably occupies the site of the ancient Acropolis. The island has been always renowned for the advantages it enjoys, in the excellence of its port, in its salubrity, and its fertility. It is thus extolled by Homer:‡

Εὔοινος, σύμπλος, οἰνοπληθὴς, πολύπυρος.

It produces wine, figs, cotton, barley, and also wheat, although not so plentifully as barley. We saw an abundance of poultry, and a very fine breed of pigs; but the streets of the town are as dirty and as narrow as they probably were in the days of Homer. If the ancient Persians have been characteristically described as the worshippers of *fire*, the inhabitants of Syra, both ancient and modern, may be considered as the worshippers of *water*. The old fountain, at which the nymphs of the island assembled in the earliest ages, exists in its original state; the same rendezvous as it was formerly, whether of love and gallantry, or of gossiping and tale-telling. It is near to the town, and the most limpid water gushes continually from the solid rock. It is regarded by the inhabitants with a degree of religious veneration; and they preserve a tradition that the pilgrims of old time, in their way to Delos, resorted hither for purification. We visited the spot in search of an inscription mentioned by

* Tournef. Voy. du. Lev. tom. I. p. 219.
† Ibid.
‡ Odyss. O. v. 405.

Tournefort,* but we could not find it: we saw, however, a pleasing procession, formed by the young women of the island, coming with songs, and carrying their pitchers on their heads, from this fountain. Here they are met by their lovers, who relieve them from their burdens, and bear a part in the general chorus. It is also the scene of their dances, and therefore the favourite rendezvous of the youth of both sexes. The Eleusinian women practised a dance about a well which was called *Callichorus*, and their dance was also accompanied by songs in honour of Ceres. These "*Songs of the Well*" are still sung in other parts of Greece as well as in Syra. De Guys mentions them. He says that he has seen the young women in *Prince's Island*, assembled in the evening at a public well, suddenly strike up a dance, while others sung in concert to them.† The ancient poets composed verses which were sung by the people while they drew the water, and were expressly denominated "*Songs of the Well.*" Aristotle, as cited by Winkelmann, says the public wells serve as so many cements to society, uniting the people in bands of friendship by the social intercourse of dancing so frequently together around them.‡ This may serve to explain the cause of the variety of beautiful lamps, pitchers, and other vessels of *terra cotta*, which have been found at the bottom of wells in different parts of Greece; as well as to direct the attention of travellers toward the cleansing of dry wells, who are desirous of procuring those valuable antiquities. Among other ancient customs still existing in Syra, the ceremonies of the vintage are particularly conspicuous. Before sun-rise, a number of young women are seen coming towards the town, covered with the branches and leaves of the vine; when they are met or accompanied by their lovers, singing loud songs, and joining in a circular dance. This is evidently the *orbicular choir*§ who sung the *Dithyrambi*, and danced that species of song in praise of Bacchus. Thus do the present inhabitants of these islands exhibit a faithful portraiture of the manners and customs of their progenitors; the ceremonies of ancient Greece have not been swept away by the revolutions of the country: even the representations of the theatre, the fa-

* Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 4. *Lyons*, 1717.
† Letters on Greece, vol. I. p. 220. *Lond.* 1781.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ἐγκύκλιος χόρος. See De Guys, vol. I. p 218, and the authors by him cited.

vourite exhibitions of the Attic drama, are yet beheld, as they existed among the people before they were removed from the scenes of common life to become the ornaments of the Grecian stage.

Some very fine gems and medals were shown to us by a native of Syra; but the price he demanded for them exceeded all moderation. One of the gems was of high antiquity. It was an intaglio of red jasper; the subject, Pegasus with wings inflected toward the head, in the most ancient style of the art; a boar was also introduced, with the singular representation as of a battering ram projecting from its breast. Among the medals there were two of silver, in good preservation. The first was of Chios: it exhibited in front a winged sphinx, and for reverse the *diota*, with this legend, ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ . ΧΙΟΣ. The other was very small, but of extraordinary beauty; probably it was of *Clazomenæa* in Ionia, and possibly of *Citium* in Cyprus. The head of a youthful deity appeared in front, in very high relief; and the reverse, equally prominent, exhibited the image of a ram couched. Among all the subjects represented upon Grecian medals, nothing is more rare than the figure of this very common quadruped. Almost every other sacred animal may be observed: but the sheep, so often the object of sacrifice, not only seldom occurs, but when it has been found upon an ancient medal, it is always upon one of the highest antiquity, destitute of any legend, and which generally classes, in numismatic collections, among coins of uncertain or of unknown origin. The cause of this has not been explained.

The minerals of Syra are rather remarkable, considering the prevalence of limestone among the Grecian Isles. We found fragments of green steatites and schistus containing garnet. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 75° at noon, on the first day after our arrival, and at 78° upon the second; which is the average temperature of the city of Naples, during the summer months, situated above three degrees nearer to the pole: and as the climates both of Italy and Greece are very regular, this autumnal temperature in Syra is about commensurate to the difference of latitude. There is not a Turk to be found upon the island; its inhabitants are all Greeks; and as they profess the Catholic religion, it might have afforded a comfortable asylum for many of those expatriated Frenchmen who were driven

by the calamities of their country all over the Levant; some of whom we had seen in places of residence less suited to their circumstances, and where they were exposed to inconveniences which they would not have encountered in this healthy and wealthy island.

Saturday, October the twenty-fourth, a light wind tempted us to weigh anchor at three A. M. intending to sail for CEOS, now called *Zïa*. After we left the port, we were becalmed: but about eight, we found ourselves to be near to the Island of TENOS; and at nine, the wind coming aft, we bore away for GYARUS, now called *Jura*. After we had doubled the northern point of Syra, we saw the Promontory of EUBŒA, called *Carpharée;* also ANDROS, *Jura*, and *Zïa*. Jura is only twelve geographical miles from the nearest point of Syra; it is now almost uninhabited, but we were curious to visit a spot alluded to by Juvenal* as a place of banishment for Roman criminals: and soon afterwards we landed. The master of our caïque wished to sail between some rocks into the harbour, and for this purpose desired us to ascend the heights, and point out a passage for the vessel. When we had done this, we clearly discerned the rocks below the surface, and were much amazed at the very great depth in the water which our situation enabled us to view. Being within hearing of the crew, we called to them, and gave them instructions how to steer; by which means the caïque was conducted through a gorge where none but Greek sailors would think of venturing. While we were in this situation, looking down upon the vessel and the harbour, there came suddenly round the northern point of the island a long narrow open boat, like a dart, filled with mariners, believed by our sailors to be *Hydriots*, to the number of thirty or forty, all plying their oars; who presently landed, removed from the rocks some spars which they had previously left there; and pushing out again to sea, disappeared with the same surprising velocity with which they had arrived. We saw their little bean-cod, as it were instantaneously, reduced to a speck upon the waves: and while we were admiring the dauntless intrepidity with which these men, in a bark that could be compared only to a long canoe, venture to cross such a dangerous sea, our captain arrived; who said we might thank our good stars that they did not plunder our vessel of every thing she

* "Aude aliquid brevibus *Gyaris* et carcere dignum." *Juv. Sat.*]

contained. He added, that there was not a part of the Archipelago which the *Hydriots* would not traverse in such a boat, venturing in all weather, and braving the most tempestuous seas: and the only reason he could give for their not having attacked our caïque was, that he believed they did not see it; for it had not cleared the passage of the rocks before they left the harbour. We remained in the bay of Jura during the rest of this day, and the following night. The few inhabitants of this desolate spot, believing us to be pirates, were afraid to approach; so that although we saw a few traces, as of human beings upon the island, not one of them appeared. We collected a few plants and minerals. The mountain around the bay, and especially that part of it which extends in the same line of direction as Syra, consists of schistus, containing masses of quartz, exhibiting a beautiful contrast of colour. We found some quartz crystallized, and also crystals of carbonated lime. Tournefort describes Jura as the most barren and disagreeable spot in the Archipelago, and says its plants are all of them common. It is not more than four leagues in circumference. In the time of Strabo, and indeed in all ages, its poverty and wretchedness were proverbial; and, while a less contemned spot hardly obtains from that author any other notice than the introduction of its name, GYARUS, from the supremacy of its indigence, occupies a more considerable portion of his regard.* A mean and miserable village, inhabited solely by fishermen, was the only settlement at that time upon its barren rocks: he mentions their embassy to Augustus, who was at Corinth, after the battle of Actium, praying a diminution of their annual tribute, which they were unable to pay; and he cites the ancient poet *Aratus*, to show how long the poverty of the island had been its only distinction.† Tournefort has countenanced the story related by Pliny‡ of the expulsion of its inhabitants by rats, or by *field-mice;* affirming that he saw some large animals of this kind which were probably

* Vid. Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 708. *Oxon.* 1807.

† "Δηλοῖ δὲ τὰς ἀπορίας αὐτῶν καὶ Ἄρατος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ λεπτὸν,

Ὦ Ἀντοῖ, σὺ μίνυις μὲν σιδηρείη Φολεγάνδρῳ
Δειλὴ, ἢ Γύαρον παρελεύσαι αὐτὴν' ὁμοίην.

Paupertatem eorum etiam Aratus sic innuit in minutis:

Te Latona tenet, puto, ferrea nunc Pholegandrus,
Aut Gyaron nihilo meliorem fortè subisti."

Strabon. Geog. lib. x. p. 709. *Oxon.* 1807.

‡ Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 29. *De Civitat. et Gent. à minutis animalibus deletæ.*" "Ex Gyaro Cycladum insulâ incolas à muribus fugatos," &c.

of the ancient race.* Instead of the field-mice, we saw plenty of sheep and goats belonging to the people of *Syra;* yet the existence of the animals mentioned by Pliny is attested by many authors, some of whom pretend that, driven by hunger, the mice have been constrained to gnaw *the iron ore taken from the mines;*† a most improbable story: but we, perhaps, learn from it the reason why exiles were sent hither by the Romans; the labour of *mining* having been anciently, as it is now in many countries, a punishment allotted to state criminals: however, we perceived no traces either of the mineral thus alluded to, or of the works carried on for its excavation.

We left Jura for Zïa, October the twenty-fifth, the weather being calm. As we drew near to Zïa, there sprung up a fresh breeze, and our sailors endeavoured to steer the caïque into what they believed to be the harbour of the island, at its northern extremity. Fortunately we had a small compass, and a copy of Tournefort's travels, the accuracy of whose maps we had before proved; and, finding that neither our captain nor any one of the Casiot crew knew any thing of the coast, the author undertook to pilot the vessel into a harbour which he had never seen, and actually by the aid of charts which have neither soundings nor bearings.‡ As soon as we had doubled the northern point of the island, the wind freshened apace; but it came entirely aft, with a heavy sea, which drove us before it with great rapidity down the channel between Zïa and the island lying off CAPE SUNIUM, anciently called HELENA, and now *Macronisi.* Presently the mouth of the port which is on the western side of Zïa, opposite to Helena, began to appear; but we stood on, so as to clear any rocks which might be on its northern side, and to have a full view of the entrance, which is between the *west-north-west,* and *west;* and then we luffed, and stood toward it. In this manner we entered the port, about noon, in perfect safety; and found there a Ragusan ship at anchor. It is a very large and commodious haven, fit for ships of any burden, and even

* "Nous n'y vîmes que de gros mulots, peut-être de la race de ceux qui obligerent les habitans de l'isle de l'abandoner, comme Pline le rapporte." *Tournef. Voy. du Lev.* tom. II. p. 30. *Lyons,* 1717.

† See the authors as cited by Tournefort: *Antigon. Carist. Narrat. Mirab. cap.* 12. *Arist. lib. de Mirab. Ausc. Ælian. Hist. Anim.* lib. V. cap. 14. *Steph. Byzant. &c.*

‡ See Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom. II. pp. 14, 21. *Lyons,* 1717.

from the north toward the south: the best anchorage is for the largest fleets. It extends, in an elliptical form, upon the southern side, but small vessels may anchor anywhere. The great article of commerce belonging to the island, now exported from this harbour, consists of the acorns of the *Velani* Oak,* *Quercus Ægilops*, used for dyeing. A kind of cloak made of goat's hair, which is sold in the port, is said by Tournefort to be manufactured in Zia: but in this he was mistaken; for those cloaks are brought to Zia from the isle of *Joura*, pronounced *Zoura*, near *Salonica*. There has been a great defalcation in the sale of the *Velani* acorns: formerly they sold for forty pounds sterling the *quintal;* and when we arrived, the dealers in this article were glad to get fifteen pounds sterling for the same quantity. The produce of the island in these acorns alone amounts annually to fifteen thousand *quintals*.

It being Sunday, we found nobody at the quay, and therefore set off for the town, and the only one upon the island; it is at the distance of three miles from the harbour: we passed through a valley toward it, and afterward ascended to the hill on which it stands. It is built upon the site of the ancient *Carthæa*, after the manner of the town of Syra, but in the form of a theatre, and upon a much higher mountain; the houses being erected in terraces one above another, so that the roofs of a range of dwellings below serve as a street to another range above. Those streets, as Syra, are beyond description filthy. Such a singular manner of building gives to the place a very novel and extraordinary appearance. The citadel is upon the left, to a person entering by the narrow pass that leads to the town; and here, says Tournefort,† sixty Turks, armed only with two muskets, defended themselves against the whole Venetian army. The ravages committed by the Russians, when their fleet visited this island during the reign of Catharine the Second, were even yet the subject of conversation. The inhabitants told us that their houses were entirely stripped

* Tournefort describes this beautiful species of oak as growing to the size of our common oak, the *Quercus Robur*. We never observed the *Quercus Ægilops* but as a shrub; however, the accuracy of such a writer as Tournefort is by no means to be disputed upon a point that he was so peculiarly qualified to determine. The *Velani* acorns which we brought to the botanic Garden at Cambridge, although collected with the utmost care, did not produce a single plant.

† Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 15.

by them. The specious promises which they held out to the people of Greece are now seen in their true light by that people, and they will not again become the dupes of any Scythian treaty. Sonnini says they had rendered the very name of *Liberty* so odious at Paros, that the inhabitants would hear no proposals for their deliverance from the power of the Turks; they preferred *Turkish despotism* to *Russian emancipation*. "Armed," says he,† "in appearance, for the purpose of restoring to the Greeks their ancient liberty, they (*the Russians*) became their scourge." Surely the examples of national perfidy they have afforded will not be lost upon the cabinets of Europe. It was not the property of the natives alone which suffered upon this occasion: the Russians removed or destroyed the most valuable antiquities; which could not have been more effectually sacrificed if they had perished, with the plunder of the Parthenon, among the rocks of Cythera.† The Fine Arts, who always deprecate their coming as they would another invasion of Alaric, will remember with regret the days they passed in the Archipelago: and when truth prevails over the interests of political intrigue and the prejudices of party zeal, it will be seen that an author has not erred who thus described them:‡

RVSSI INTER CHRISTIANOS BARBAPΩTATOI.

The male population of Zïa amounts to three thousand persons. Each house pays a tax of ten, twelve, or fifteen piastres, annually. We called upon the English consul, who promised to send mules for us to the marine, if we would come the next day and dine with him; to which we consented. He informed us of a circumstance before alluded to, but of which we had never till then heard; namely, that the famous *Oxford Marble*, generally believed to have been found in Paros, was in reality discovered among the ruins of *Ioulis*, in the Isle of Zïa, at four hours' distance from the town; and he appealed to some of the inhabitants, well acquainted with the circumstance, for the truth of the fact. Those ruins are little known: Tournefort has briefly noticed them; but it remains for some future traveller to make us better acquainted with

* Travels in Greece and Turkey, p. 454. *Lond.* 1801.

† The memorable fate which attended the spoils of the finest temple Greece ever saw, in Cerigo Bay, A. D. 1802.

‡ Vid. Johannis Lomeieri Lib. de Bibliothecis, cap. xi. p. 358. *Ultraject.* 1680.

the remains of a city not only renowned as the birth-place of many celebrated men,* of *Simonides*,† of *Bacchylides*, of *Erasistratus*,‡ and of *Ariston*,§ but particularly entitled to a careful examination, from the circumstance of the discovery there made of this important chronicle, so long believed to owe its origin to Paros. A place which has been hitherto little regarded, as lying remote from common observation, where the soil has never been turned, nor hardly a stone removed from the situation in which it was left when the city was abandoned by its inhabitants, may well repay the labour and the expense necessary for this purpose. The season was far advanced at the time of our visit, and our eagerness to get to Athens so paramount above every other consideration, that we did not choose to delay our voyage thither by making a visit to these ruins; which we have ever since regretted. Some notion may be formed of their magnitude, and the degree of consideration in which they were held by Tournefort, from the manner in which he introduces his account of them, after describing the remains of *Carthæa*:‖ and with regard to the valuable chronicle which the present inhabitants of *Zïa* maintain to have been found at *Ioulis*, there is something like an internal evidence of the fact in the remarkable records preserved upon the marble, not only with regard to *Simonides* the poet, who was a native of the city, but also of his descendant, *Simonides, son of Leoprepis*, who explained at Athens the principles of a Μνημονικόν, or scheme for *artificial memory*, of which he

* Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰουλίδος ὅ, τε Σιμωνίδης ἦν ὁ μελοποιὸς, καὶ Βακχυλίδης ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου. καὶ μετὰ ταυτὰ Ἐρασίστρατος ὁ ἰατρὸς, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων Ἀρίστων, ὁ τοῦ βορυσθενίτου βίωνος ζηλωτής. Strabon. Geog. lib. x. p. 710. *Oxon.* 807.

† The ancient name of *Zïa*, ΚΕΟΣ, called ΚΙΑ by Ptolemy, was sometimes abbreviated, and written ΚΟΣ; and owing to this circumstance, the country of the poet Simonides has sometimes been confounded with that of Hippocrates. Stephanus Byzantimus uses the word ΚΟΣ to signify ΚΕΟΣ, in speaking of the city *Ioulis*. Ἰουλὶς πόλις ἐν Κῷ. (*Vid. Steph. Byzant. Geog. L. Bat.* 1694.) Among the Romans, it was also usual to abbreviate *Cëos* by writing *Cës*. Pliny says the island had been called *Ceos*, and in his time *Cea*.

‡ The famous physician who discovered, by the motion of the pulse, the love which Antiochus had conceived for his mother-in-law, Stratonice. He was the grandson of Aristotle.

§ There were two philosophers of this name, the first mentioned by Strabo as a native of Ceos, was a *Peripatetic*; the second was a *Stoic*, and a native of Chios: they have been confounded together, and it has been proposed to read Ἀρίστων Κεῖος for Χῖος.

‖ "Pour voir quelque chose de plus superbe, il faut prendre la route du sud sud est," &c. *Voy. du Lev.* tom. II. p. 15.

was the inventor. The ancient road from *Ioulis* to *Carthæa*, the finest thing of the kind, says Tournefort,* which, perhaps, can be found in all Greece, yet exists. He traced it for three miles in extent, flanking the sides of the hills, and sustained by a strong wall, of which the coping consisted of immense blocks of a grayish stone, having the property of splitting like the slate used in the Grecian Isles for covering houses and chapels. The remains of *Ioulis* are now called ΠΟΛΙΣ by the inhabitants of Zïa. They cover the top of a promontory, to the south-south-east of the present town; the base of which is washed by the sea, although it was a league distant from it in the time of Strabo. The ruins of the Acropolis are upon the point of the cape; and somewhat farther from the shore the temple is conspicuous, in the magnificence of its remains: those of the city extend from the hill quite into a valley which is watered by the streams of a fountain whence *Ioulis* received its name. "Never," observes the author now cited,† "have I seen such masses of marble employed in architecture, as those used for constructing the walls of this city: some of the blocks are more than twelve feet in length." The British consul told us, that the head of the fine Torso represented in Tournefort's travels was carried away by an Englishman. Strabo relates, that there were once four cities upon this island, *Pœcëssa*, *Carthæa*, *Caressus*, and *Ioulis;* but that in his time the inhabitants of *Pœcëssa* had settled in *Carthæa*, and those of *Caressus* in *Ioulis*. He has preserved from *Menander* an ancient and memorable law of the inhabitants of this island:‡ "LET HIM WHO CANNOT LEAD AN HONOURABLE, NOT LEAD A DISHOHONOURABLE LIFE." Ptolemy mentions three cities, instead of four, *Caressus*, *Ioulis*, and *Carthæa*.§ From the ruins of the last of these has originated the present town of Zïa, the only one in the whole island: those ruins may be traced in

* Voy. du. Lev. tom. II. p 16. *Lyons*, 1717.

† *Ibid.* Tournefort found the remains of an inscription upon a broken marble in a Greek chapel among the ruins, containing the word ΙΟΥΛΙΔΑ.

‡ Ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλῶς, οὐ ζῇ κακῶς. Thus rendered by Xylander, "*Qui non potest vivere benè, non malè moritur:*" perhaps alluding to an ancient custom in Zïa, of putting to death aged and infirm persons. The editor of the Oxford Strabo has disputed this interpretation, and says the sense should be, "*Qui non benè vitam agere potest, non malè vitam agat.*" Vid. Annot. in Strabon. Geog. lib. x. p. 710. *Oxon.* 1807. Not. 12.

§ Κία νῆσος ἐν ᾗ πόλεις, τρεῖς Κάρησσος. Ἰουλὶς, Καρθαία. Ptolem. Geog. lib. iii. cap. 15. *Amst.* 1618.

the valley, the whole way from the harbour to the citadel.* The name of this city—written ΚΑΡΘΑΙΑ by Strabo and by Ptolemy, and consequently *Carthæa* by Latin writers—appears upon its medals, ΚΑΡΘΑ, which is, probably, an abbreviation. We were fortunate in procuring several: but they were all of bronze; nor have we ever seen or heard of a silver medal either of *Ioulis* or of *Carthæa*. Those of the latter city exhibited in front a *laureled bust;* and for reverse, the fore quarters either of a *fawn* or of a *dog*, and in some instances with a *bee* below, and *a semicircle of diverging rays* above the head of the animal. Their legends were either Κ, simply, or ΚΑΡΘΗΑ; but in no instance ΚΑΡΘΑΙΑ. The *bee* evidently refers to *Ioulis*, of which city this was the symbol; as appears by some bronze medals in the French collection, on which the *bee* appears, with the legend ΙΟΥΛΙ. Possibly, therefore, *Ioulis* was leagued with *Carthæa*, or had become tributary to it, when some of the medals were struck which we brought from the island.

An amusing adventure befel us the next day, in our search for medals. We have before had occasion to allude to the hospitality of the Greeks, to their love of festivity, and to the sort of sensation excited by the arrival of strangers among them; but perhaps the following anecdote may exhibit these, their national characteristics, in a more striking manner than has been hitherto done. The consul having sent his mules to the harbour, we went to visit him, as we had promised to do, and despatched messengers about the town in search of medals and gems. Toward the evening, as we were preparing to take leave of our host, a little girl arrived; who said, if we would follow her, she would conduct us to a house where several antiquities would be offered to us for sale. When we got into the street, we were surprised to meet a young lady very splendidly dressed, who offered to us some medals, and said, if we would accompany her she would take us to a house where the owner kept a collection of such rarities. Presently we met a second female, nearly of the same age, and similarly habited; who addressed the first, laughing, and then literally seized one of us by the arm, bidding her companion secure the other: and in this

* Tournefort speaks of an inscription of forty-one lines in the chapel of St. Peter, but it was much effaced, and almost illegible.

manner we were hurried into a crowded assembly, where many of the inhabitants had been collected for a regular ball. The dancing instantly began; and being welcomed with loud cheers into the midst of the party, there was no alternative but to give up all thoughts, for the rest of the evening, of returning to our caique, and contribute to the hilarity of those by whom we had been thus hospitably inveigled. Our conductors proved to be the two daughters of the Ἰδιοκτήτης who thus honourably entertained, after the manner of his forefathers, two private strangers whom he was never likely to see again, and from whom he could reap no possible advantage. Every species of Greek dance was exhibited for the amusement of his guests; from the bounding Μονοχορος or *hornpipe*, and the Δίχορος or *rigadoon*,* to the more stately measures of the *orbicular brawl*,† and the "*threadle-my-needle*" of the modern *Roméka*.‡ The whole night passed in one uninterrupted scene of the most joyous vivacity. To us it seemed to exhibit a moving picture of other times; for in the dances we actually beheld the choirs of the ancient Greeks, as originally they were led around the altars of Delos, or amidst the rocks of Delphi, or by the waters of Helicon, or along the banks of the Eurotas § When morning dawned, we retired; but we left them still dancing; and we heard their reiterated songs as we descended through the valley toward the shore.

The fertility of Zïa has been mentioned by ancient and by modern authors, and it was particularly noticed by us upon the spot.‖ It appeared to be the best cultivated of any of the Grecian Isles. In our way to and from the town, we found among the rocks some very rare plants; particularly the *Verbascum Græcum* of Tournefort, which here flourishes in great perfection. The cottton-plants were in flower; the island produces also abundance of wine, barley, silk, figs, and cattle. The old road from this harbour to the city of *Carthæa* was cut out of the solid rock, and the traces of it are still visible. There was a tradition in the time of

* See De Guy's Letters on Greece, vol. I. p. 149. *Lond.* 1781.
† See p. 5. of this volume.
‡ See p. 2. Note (†,) of this volume.
§ "Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi
"Exercet Diana choros,"———
Virg. Æneid. lib. i. Sedan. 1625.
‖ ———"Et cultor nemorum, qui pinguia *Ceæ*
Ter centum nivei tondent dumeta juvenci."
Virg. Georgic. lib. i. ver. 14. *Sedan.* 1625.

Pliny, that Zïa, or, as he writes it, *Cea*,* had been separated from *Eubœa* by the sea, and that a considerable part of it toward the north had been swallowed by the waves.† This event might possibly occur at the bursting of the Thracian Bosphorus; and to this, perhaps, the ancient Greek name of the island, *Hydrussa*,‡ may be attributed, rather than to the abundance or excellence of its water, as the same name was common to other isles; for example, to *Tenos*, which may, from its relative situation to *Eubœa*, have had a similar origin. The mountains of Zïa are all of limestone: there are no vestiges of any volcanic operation. The mineral mentioned by Tournefort,§ under the appellation of "*Craie de Briançon*," a variety of *talc* is found in great abundance near the monastery of St. *Marine*, or *Marinas*, distant about three hours' journey from the town of Zïa; the inhabitants make no use of it. Lead ore is also found near the same place. From hence there are two ways of going to Athens: the first is by landing at a port near SUNIUM, which is called *Dascallió;* two hours from which place is a village called, from the abundance of its *Karob trees*, *Keratïa*, whence the distance is only eight or ten hours, by land the whole way, to Athens: the other way is by sea, up the *Gulf of Engia* to the PIRÆUS. Our consul had recommended the former way, as the easiest, the safest, and the best; but we adopted the latter, that we might have the satisfaction of making our first approach to Athens from one of its ancient harbours, and of seeing as much as possible of the magnificent scenery which the gulf exhibits.

We hired a pilot from Zïa, for the Saronic Gulf; and left the harbour, with a fair wind, October the twenty-seventh, soon after sunrise.

We passed *Macronisi*, once called HELENA, because *Helen* is said to have landed here after her expulsion from Troy;‖ and we had such a glorious prospect of this island, and of the temple of *Minerva Sunias* standing upon the cape, together with other more distant objects, that we could recollect nothing like it; such a contrast of colours; such an

* "Quam nosti quidam dixere *Ceam*." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* iv. c. 12. tom. 1. p. 221. *L. Bat.* 1635.

† "Avulsa Eubœæ, quingentis longa stadiis, fuit quondam; mox quatuor ferè partibus, quæ ad Bœotiam vergebant, eodem mari devoratis." *Ibid.*

‡ Vid Plin. Hist. Nat. ubi supra.

§ Voy. du Lev. tom. II. p. 21. *Lyons*, 1717.

‖ See Pausanias, lib. i. c. 35.

association of the wonders of nature and art; such perfection of grand and beautiful perspective, as no expression of perceptible properties can convey to the minds of those who have not beheld the objects themselves. Being well aware of the transitory nature of impressions made upon the memory by sights of this kind, the author wrote a description of this scene while it was actually before his eyes: but how poor is the effect produced by detailing the parts of a view in a narrative, which ought to strike as a whole upon the sense!—He may tell, indeed, of the dark blue sea streaked with hues of deepest purple—of embrowning shadows—of lights effulgent as the sun—of marble pillars beaming a radiant brightness upon lofty precipices whose sides are diversified by refreshing verdure and by hoary mosses, and by gloomy and naked rocks; or by brighter, surfaces reflecting the most vivid and varied tints, orange, red, and gray; to these he may add an account of distant summits, more intensely azured than the clear and cloudless sky—of islands dimly seen through silvery mists upon the wide expanse of water, shining, towards the horizon, as it were "a sea of glass:" and when he has exhausted his vocabulary, of every colour and shape exhibited by the face of nature or by the works of art, although he have not deviated from the truth in any part of his description, how little and how ineffectual has been the result of his undertaking!

As we passed the southern point of Macronisi, and drew nearer to the promontory, the temple upon the cape appeared to the greatest advantage in which it is possible now to view it;* for it seemed to be entire, its deficiencies being concealed by the parts which yet remain uninjured. When we had doubled the southern point of the cape, we anchored in the ancient port of *Sunium*, an insignificant bay, lying within the gulf, sheltered by the promontory. Here we landed. The owners of a small boat which we observed coasting, believing us to be pirates, ran their vessel aground, and abandoned her as soon as they perceived our caïque coming round the cape, making their escape up the rocks near to the shore. We endeavoured, by signs, to convince them of

* There is a very accurate representation of Cape Sunium and the temple, engraved from a drawing by Mr. Gell, in the edition of *Falconer's Shipwreck*, published by the Rev. James Stanier Clarke, L. L. B. brother of the author of these travels.

our peaceable intentions; but they betook themselves to some woods, and appeared no more while we remained in the bay. Proceeding toward the temple, we found the rocks covered with evergreens and bushy shrubs, among which we noticed the *Pistacia Lentiscus*, the myrtle, the Velani oak, and some dwarf cedars. We also found some rolled pieces of green trap or basalt, containing a dendritic crystallization; but had not leisure for a due examination of the strata on which this temple stands; our sailors, who had themselves been mistaken for pirates, being very impatient to get under weigh, through fear that some of the real robbers would arrive, who make the bay of Sunium their lurking-place, where they lie in wait for vessels going in or out of the gulf. It was with difficulty we could pacify the master of the caïque. during the time we spent in the examination of the temple. This beautiful building was once adorned with the most exquisite sculpture; its materials were of the whitest marble; it was of the Doric order; and the remains of it are sufficient to prove that, when it was entire, it exhibited one of the most highly-finished specimens of Attic architecture in all Greece. Chandler* believed it to have been "erected in the same happy period with the great temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, in the Acropolis at Athens, or in the time of Pericles, it having like proportions, though far inferior in magnitude." Beside the temple, there was also a *Propyléum* of the Doric order at Sunium. We found fifteen columns yet standing. The surfaces in some of those facing the sea were much decomposed. Several persons had written their names upon the marble; and even those which had been inscribed with pencils remained, with their dates, as fresh as when they were first written. We read the names of the lamented TWEDDELL, and of the honourable captain WILLIAM PAGET. The last of these, a gallant naval officer, now buried at Gibraltar, will not want a memorial in Greece. His name will be long remembered, for the coolness, the intrepidity, and the humanity which he displayed when commander of the *Romney*, a fifty-gun ship, during his memorable action with a French frigate, *La Sibylle*, in the harbour of Myconi. The French officer was an old acquaintance, and one with whom he had lived in habits of friendship. Captain Paget sent a boat to him, say-

* Travels in Greece, p. 8. *Oxf.* 1776.

ing he was sorry they had met under such circumstances, but that he must desire him to surrender. He received for answer, that the captain of *La Sibylle* well knew captain Paget's force,* and that he would defend himself to the last extremity. The Frenchman fired first, aided by four armed vessels, which were stationed so as to rake the *Romney*. Captain Paget having observed that, from the situation of his ship, some mischief would ensue to the inhabitants of Myconi, patiently sustained this powerful attack without returning a single shot, until by getting a spring upon his cable, he had brought the *Romney* into a situation where the cannon might play without doing any injury to the town; then he gave his broadside, with three cheers from his crew. The Frenchman returned the salute; and a warm contest ensued, in which the *Romney* was ultimately victorious. The history of this action is often related in the Archipelago, although it has not been recorded in England: and as the name of the hero appears inscribed with his own hands upon the conspicuous pillars of Sunium, the ΣΤΗΛΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΑΝΕΙΣ, visible from afar, may stand as lasting a monument of his fame, as the glorious sepulchre which chance did assign to the memory of TWEDDELL, when it caused him to be buried in the temple of Theseus.

Chandler says that the temple of *Minerva Sunias* was within the wall of the old town.† We saw no remains of this town; but we were induced to believe, from the appearance of some ruins upon an opposite hill, on the northern side of the port, that these were the remains of *Sunium*. The impatience of our mariners prevented our visiting those ruins, although they have been hitherto undescribed. They seemed to be too near to have belonged to *Laurium*. Among the remains of the temple we found the point of an ancient lance, and many fragments of *terra-cotta* vessels, those indestructible and infallible testimonies of places resorted to by the ancient Greeks. As soon as we had descended to the caïque, our captain weighed anchor, and set sail for the PIRÆUS, now called *Porto Leone*, distant forty-two miles from the Cape; but we had no sooner entered the channel, between the island PATROCLEÏA and the coast of Attica, than we were becalmed. This island is now called by at least half a dozen dif-

* The Romney was short of her complement by seventy-five men.

† Trav. in Greece, p. 7. *Oxf.* 1776. See also Wheler's Journey into Greece, Book vi. p. 446. *Lond.* 1682.

ferent modern names; it is, therefore, best to adhere as much as possible to original appellations, for these will be found frequently preserved by the inhabitants of the country. All the barbarous *nick-names* given to places and islands in Greece, and introduced in modern geography, have been principally owing to the Italians. Thus Athens received the strange appellation of *Settines*, although it never lost its old name among its resident citizens, nor ever fell into the state of desolation and desertion which has been falsely ascribed to it. The little island of *Patrocleïa* still preserved its name in Wheler's time;* but it has been called *Gaitharonesi*, (*Asses' Isle,*) the *Island of Ebony*, *Guidronisa*, *Garderonis*, &c. and owing to all these names, it has been sometimes multiplied, and laid down in charts as a cluster of small isles, rather than as one island. Some geographers have believed this island to be the *Belbina* of Strabo,† from the manner in which he has connected the βίλβινα νῆσος with the rampart constructed by *Patroclus*;‡ but in a former part of his work he is more explicit as to the situation of *Belbina*,§ describing its situation as farther from the coast, and which some have believed to be the island now called *St. George d'Arbori*, as it is named in a chart by D'Anville.‖

The pilot whom we had brought from Zïa informed us, that ebony still grows upon *Patrocleïa;* and we availed ourselves of the delay caused by our being becalmed, to land in search of it. We collected many rare plants upon this otherwise barren spot; but could not find a single specimen of the *Ebenus*, either *Cretica* or *pinnata*. Our sailors also landed; and they caught abundance of *echini*, upon which they fed heartily, both on this and the following day. The

* Wheler writes it PATROCLEA; but Spon, PATROCLEÏA. *See Wheler's Journ. into Greece*, Book vi. p. 449. *Lond.* 1682. *Spon, Voyage de Grèce*, tom. II. p. 155. *à La Haye*, 1724.

† See De L'Isles "*Græciæ Antiquæ Tabula Nova*," as published at Paris 1745.

‡ Πρόκειται δὲ καὶ τούτων τῶν τόπων Βίλβινα νῆσος, οὐ πολὺ ἀπωθεν, καὶ ὁ Πατρόκλου χάραξ. Strabon. Geog. lib. ix. p. 578. *Oxon.* 1807.

§ Νησίδια δὲ περίκειται πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ. Βίλβινα δὲ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἐνανεύουσα. Ibid. lib. viii. p. 544. *Oxon.* 1807.

‖ See D'Anville's Chart of the Archipelago, published at Paris in 1756. The editor of the Oxford edition of Strabo believed *Lavousa* to be the modern name of *Belbina*. "Belbina nunc *Lavousa* dicitur." (*Vid. Not. in Strabon. Geog.* p. 544. *Oxon.* 1807.) This is the island mentioned by Spon, to whose work the reader may be referred for the best, indeed the only accurate, account of the islands in the Saronic gulf. "Entre Ægina et Coulouri, il y a une petite isle appellée Laousa." *Voyage de Grèce, fait aux Années* 1675 *et* 1676, *par Jacob Spon*, tom. II. p. 156. *à la Haye*, 1724.

name of this prickly shell-fish, if written abbreviated as they pronounced it, would be ἀχήν, instead of ἰχῖνος. The thermometer this day at noon was 80° of Fahrenheit. We were unable to leave our station off *Patrocleïa* before the next day; and being afraid to venture upon the coast of Attica, we continued upon the island, collecting plants until the evening, and admiring the glorious prospect exhibited on all sides. In this gulf, between the two promontories of *Sunium* and *Scyllæum*, there are not less than twenty islands;* but only three of them are inhabited, CALAUREA, ÆGINA, and SALAMIS. At present we shall only speak of the first of these, CALAUREA, because the others will occur in the order of our route. Its situation with regard to the *Scyllæan* Promontory, is the same as PATROCLEÏA with respect to the *Sunian*. Calaurea, rarely visited, and almost unknown, is the island to which Demosthenes fled, when he sought to avoid the fury of Antipater; and where he swallowed poison, in the temple of Neptune: and although it has been disputed whether the island, now sometimes called *Poros*, from a small adjoining peninsula, be the same with the ancient Calaurea, an inscription discovered there by Chandler† has put an end to all doubt upon the subject. He found, among the ruins of the city and of the temple, an inscription, upon a pedestal, containing an acknowledgment of the services of king Eumenes "TO THE GOD, AND TO THE CALAUREANS, AND TO THE OTHER GREEKS." The monument of Demosthenes remained within the precincts of the temple in the second century.‡ This island is eighteen miles in circumference: it is now inhabited by those descendants of the ancient Macedonians who are called *Arnaouts*, or *Albanians;* a people of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak during our travels in Greece, and who have been much vilified, in being often represented, in books of travels, as a lawless set of banditti, and as being, with regard to *terra firma*, what the *Mainotes*, or Lacedæmonians, are upon the waves.† We are not so well acquaint-

* See Spon, tom. II. p. 155. *à La Haye*, 1724.

† Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 212. *Oxf.* 1776.

‡ Τοῦ περιβόλουδὲ ἐντὸς, καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνῆμά ἐστι. Pausan. lib. ii. c. 33. p. 189. *Lips.* 1696.

§ "Il demeuroit dans ces cabanes de ces sortes de gens que les Turcs et les Greçs connoissent sous le nom d'Arnautes, et nous autres sous celuy *d'Albanois*. Ils sont en partie originaires de la frontière occidentale de la Macédoine, proche des villes d'Apolimena et de Sapoza; et en partie de l'Epire, vers les montagnes de la Chymère. Ils sont naturellment braves, déterminez, et infatigables, grand voleurs, et justement dans la terre ferme de Grèce

ed with the latter; but have reason to believe that they also have been greatly calumniated in the accounts published of them from the hearsay statements of the Turks and Greeks. As to the Albanians, it was often our good fortune, in our subsequent journeys, to prefer a night's lodging in their cottages to the less cleanly accommodation of more stately dwellings: and this brief allusion to them has been now made, rather by anticipation, that the reader, finding hereafter an account of them very different from the notions generally entertained of this people, may not be induced to attribute to first impressions a description of their manners which has been the result of repeated experience.

The next morning, we hoisted sail as the sun was rising in great splendour above the mountains; but the wind blew in gusts, and we made little progress. At one time it came with such sudden violence down the side of a high mountain upon the Attic coast, that it nearly upset the caïque. These transitory gales are common in all gulfs surrounded by high land, and they render the navigation precarious for small vessels. The mountain to the east of us was called, by our sailors, *Elimbo*, which is a modern name for *Olympus*; and the latter, perhaps, formerly denoted any very lofty eminence, as it is the appellation which was common to many celebrated mountains: to one in *Pïeria*, the seat of the gods; to another in *Bithynia*; to a third in *Mysia*; a fourth in *Cyprus*; a fifth in *Crete*; a sixth in *Elis*; and a seventh in *Arcadia*. In the course of this day we found ourselves to be accompanied by a few small vessels, sailing up the gulf, with red sails. At four o'clock in the afternoon, being off Cape *Vari*, and upon the look-out towards the N. N. E. we beheld with great transports of joy, the first sight of ATHENS; its lofty edifices catching the sun's rays, and rendering the buildings in the Acropolis visible to us at the distance of fifteen miles. The reflected light gave them a white appearance. The PARTHENON appeared first, above a long chain of hills in the front; presently we saw the top of MOUNT ANCHESMUS, to the left of the temple; the whole being backed by a lofty mountainous ridge, which we supposed to be PARNES. All the fore-part of this fine scene was occupied by Cape *Vari* and the Gulf. *Vari*, or *Vary*, is mentioned by Chandler,

ce que les Magnottes sont sur mer." *Voyage d'Athènes, &c. par le Sr. de la Guilletiere*, p. 88. *à Paris*, 1675.

but in such an uncertain manner, that it is impossible, from his description, to make out its ancient name.* It may have been so called from the Island *Phaura*, which was situated before one of the Capes between *Phalerum* and *Sunium*; and there is a small island off *Cape Vari*. According to Chandler, *Vari* is only four hours' journey from Athens by land, which nearly agrees with the distance mentioned to us by our pilot. The famous *grotto of the nymphs* is only three quarters of an hour distant from *Vari*, inland; it is situated in a part of *Mount Hymettus*, which here, stretching out into the sea, forms the promontory once called *Zoster*; and this may be the same now called *Cape Vari*. In this manner, then, we may perhaps settle the geography of this part of the coast; the promontory being *Zoster*, and the island *Phaura*. *Zoster* was so called because it was said Latona had loosed her zone there, in her way to Delos, whither she was conducted by Minerva. On the shore was an altar. A strange notion seems to have been founded upon a passage in Pausanias: namely, that a part of the colossal statue of Minerva in the Acropolis of Athens was visible from the Sunian Promontory. After the repeated proofs which have occurred of late years, confirming the truth of ancient geographers and historians upon many points before doubted, one would not hastily conclude that a thing positively asserted is untrue, because it has not remained to undergo the test of our experience. The distance is forty-two miles, and we barely discerned the Parthenon at fifteen; but the representation of this statue, as it appears upon an ancient medal of Athens,† proves that it was much higher than the Parthenon; and there is no saying what the effect might be, of light reflected from a statue of polished or gilded brass in such an atmosphere, even at the extraordinary distance from which the point of the spear and crest of the helmet are said to have been visible. This gulf has never been accurately surveyed; and the relative situation of the different parts of it appeared to us to be erroneously marked in our best maps. But Pausanias does not say the statue was visible from Sunium: his words are, "*to those sailing from Sunium:*" the situation, and distance, of the spectator are therefore very indefinitely marked.‡

* Trav. in Greece, pp. 147, 150. *Oxf.* 1776.

† See "*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*" Tab. XXVII. Fig. 1. *Paris*, 1790.

‡ Τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνους, ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσίν ἐστιν ἤδη σύνορα. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 28. p. 67. *Lips.* 1696.

Toward evening we were again becalmed, and anchored near to a Cape which is opposite to a point of the Island of SALAMIS. Here we sent the pilot on shore whom we had brought from Zïa, as he was the only person acquainted with the country, directing him to go to Athens and hire horses to meet us at the Piræëus on the following day. Soon after midnight a breeze sprung up; and our impatience getting the better of all apprehension, we resolved to steer for the Piræëus, without any other pilot than the stars, which shone with great brightness. We knew that our course was due north; and therefore pointing out the polar star to the master of the caïque, we persuaded him to get under weigh, promising to pilot his vessel into harbour as safely as we had done before into the port of Zïa.* There was barely wind enough to keep the vessel steady to her helm; therefore if she chanced to fall upon a rock or a shoal, it would be easy to get her off again, and the pilot had said that the course was clear. Accordingly we set sail, and for once ventured towards a lee shore, without seeing any thing of the land. In this manner passing the mouth of the old haven PHALERUM, as we drew near to the *Munychian Isthmus*, we distinctly perceived the coast, like a long dark wall before us. Upon this, we stood somewhat farther out toward the north-west; and doubling the point, lowered our sails, and took to the oars, steering north-east, and afterwards due east; by which means we soon entered the outer port of PIRÆEUS; but endeavouring to pass farther in, we drove the vessel upon the ruined pier, on the Munychian side. Daylight was beginning to dawn; and a part of this pier rose above the water, so that we were enabled to land upon it, and lighten the caïque, while our sailors were employed in getting her head off the pier. We found the entrance to the inner harbour to be close to this part of the ancient rampart; but it was eight o'clock, A. M. October the twenty-ninth, before we brought the vessel to an anchor off the custom-house, in a good sandy bottom, and about four fathoms water. Seven or eight fathoms may be found nearer to the mouth, and eleven between the two piers; the bottom shelving into fifteen and twenty fathoms in the outer port with good anchorage.†

* The variation of the compass 12°. 55. as observed in 1751, makes the course exactly *north* by the magnetic needle. *See Stuart's Athens; Map of Attica;* vol. III.

† As an extraordinary event in the history of the *Piræëus*, it may be

At ten o'clock we landed; and having mounted our horses, took the ancient road to the city, by the indistinct remains of the walls of Conon,* the sepulchre of Menander, and the Cenotaph of Euripides. It were useless to relate the feelings with which we viewed the grandest and most affecting sight that hath been left for modern times. The classical reader, already convinced that nothing exists upon earth to equal it, may give a traveller credit for emotions, similar to those excited in his own mind by the mere mention of an approach to Athens; and he will anticipate, by his imagination, what it is impossible to describe. Such is the nature of the place, and such the magnitude of its ruins, that, in a general view, time seems to have spent its ravages upon it in vain. The Acropolis and the temples, and the tombs, and the theatres, and the groves, and the mountains, and the rocks, and the plain, and the gardens, and the vineyards, and the fountains, and the baths, and the walls, and the gates, are as they appeared to Pericles, to Socrates, and to Alcibiades. "ADSUNT ATHENÆ, UNDE HUMANITAS, DOCTRINA, RELIGIO, FRUGES JURA, LEGES ORTÆ, ATQUE IN OMNES TERRAS DISTRIBUTÆ PUTANTUR; DE QUARUM POSSESSIONE, PROPTER PULCHRITUDINEM, ETIAM INTER DEOS CERTAMEN PRODITUM EST. URBS, INQUAM, QUÆ VETUSTATE EA EST, UT IPSA EX SESE SUOS CIVES GENUISSE DICATUR: AUTHORITATE AUTEM TANTA, UT JAM FRACTUM PROPE BT DEBILITATEM GRÆCIÆ NOMEN, HUJUS URBIS LAUDE NITATUR."

mentioned, that the author's brother, captain Clarke, of the royal navy, brought an English frigate, the *Braakel*, to an anchor within this port; but not without considerable damage to the ship. The Athenians flocked in crowds to witness this extraordinary spectacle. *See a narrative of the event, in the notes to an edition of Falconer's Shipwreck, by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, L.L.B. the Biographer of Nelson, &c. &c.*

* Ἀνόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἱππία τῶν τειχῶν ἐστιν, ἃ Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδον ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε. Pausan. Attica. c. 2. p. 7. *Lips.* 1696.

CHAP. XII.

ATHENS.

Origin of the fabulous contest between Neptune and Minerva—Ancient Sepulchral Monument—Excavations at Athens—View of the Cecropian Citadel—Funereal Aspect of the City—Objects in the perspective—State of the Antiquities—*Interesting Relic—Remarks upon entering Athens*—Guilletiere—*Ascent of the Acropolis—Relic of Phidian Sculpture—Adytum of Pan—*Ἱερὰ *of the Greeks—Portable Shrines—Statue of Pan—Celebrated Artist—Spoliation of the Temples—Comparison between the Grecian and Roman Buildings*—Athenian, Posidonian, *and* Ægineta *Architecture—Cause of the Injury sustained in the Sculpture of the* Parthenon—*Splendid representation of the* Panathenæa—*Description of the Work—The* Cothurnus, *and* Petasus *or* Pileus—*Practice of gilding and painting Statues—Marbles used in the Acropolis—Singular Construction of the* Erecthéum—*Of the* Prytanéum—*Temples of* Pandrosus *and* Minerva Polias—*Of the Olive, and Well*—Propylæa—*Walls of the Acropolis*—Odeum of Regilla—*General description of the Theatres of Greece*—Areopagus—*Temple of* Theseus.

THIS road, from the Piræeus to Athens, extending for about five miles, formerly passed over marshy ground; for the foundations of the two *long walls*, which enclosed the Piræeus within the precincts of Athens, were, according to Plutarch, laid in a marshy soil, prepared for the purpose by being filled with huge pieces of rock.* An inference may be deduced from this circumstance, which does not seem to have been noticed; that inasmuch as the plains of Greece have evidently resulted from the retiring of waters gradually carried off by evaporation and by other causes, the lakes and marshes which remained in ancient times were so

* Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἃ σκέλη καλοῦσι, συντελεσθῆναι μὲν ὕστερον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τὴν δὲ πρώτην θεμελίωσιν, εἰς τόπους ἑλώδεις καὶ διαβρόχους τῶν ἔργων ἐμπεσόντων ἐρεισθῆναι διὰ Κίμωνον ἀσφαλῶς, χάλικι πολλῇ καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν ἁλῶν πιεσθέντων, ἐκείνου χρήματα παρέχοντος καὶ διδόντος. Plutarchi Cimon. tom. III. p. 125. *Lond.* 1723.

many relics of the retreating flood. Hence, perhaps, the origin of the antiquated and popular fable, among the earliest settlers in Attica, of the contest between *Neptune* and *Minerva* for the country, rather than that which Plutarch* has assigned as the source of it; who believed it to have been founded on the endeavours of the kings to withdraw the people from a seafaring life to the labours of agriculture. After this contest is said to have happened, *Neptune* is described as endeavouring to regain the territory by subsequent inundations. Some of the lakes noticed by historians are now become marshes, and the marshes they mention are become dry land. There is now little appearance of marshy land between the Piræeus and Athens:† the road lies through vineyards, olive-grounds, and plantations of fig-trees. Several plants were in flower, and the specimens we collected were fresher than those we gathered in the islands. In one of the vineyards we saw a Tumulus, which is undoubtedly an ancient sepulchre. The monument of Euripides was a Cenotaph, but that of Menander did really contain his ashes. The tomb of Euripides was at Pella, in Macedonia; possibly, therefore, this mound may have been the sepulchre of the comic poet. Pausanias, speaking of the Cenotaph of Euripides, calls it Μνῆμα.‡ This is evidently a Τάφος, but it has upon its summit the remains of some structure, not as for the support of a *Stelé*, but of a Μνημεῖον raised upon the mound; and this would rather confirm Chandler's opinion, who believed it to be the *monument* raised to Euripides.§ It had not been opened at the time of our arrival. The business of making excavations among the Grecian tombs was then beginning in the neighbourhood of Athens, and it has since abundantly rewarded the taste of those travellers under whose patronage such labours have been carried on.‖ We observed the re-

* Vid. Plutarch, in Themist. tom. I. p. 268. *Lond.* 1729.

† We did not observe any thing of this nature in the road from the *Piræus;* but in the map of Attica, as surveyed by Stuart, there is notice of a *marshy soil* bordering the *Phalerum*, now called *Pórto Phanari*. See *Stuart's Athens*, vol. III. *Lond.* 1794.

‡ See Pausanias, lib. i. c. 2. p. *6*. *Lips.* 1696.

§ See Trav. in Greece, p. 24. *Oxf.* 1776.

‖ A French artist, Mons. *Fauvel*, is said to have met with great success in these researches. *Don Battista Lusieri* opened several tombs, and thus made a collection of the most valuable Grecian vases. Among English travellers, the Earl of Aberdeen is particularly distinguished for his liberality in encouraging works of this kind: the more laudable, in being opposed to the lamentable operations which another British Earl, one of his lordship's countrymen, was then prosecuting, to the *utter ruin* of the finest works of ancient

mains of the ancient paved way leading from the *Piræeus;* also of an aqueduct. As we drew near to the walls, we beheld the vast CECROPIAN CITADEL, crowned with temples that originated in the veneration once paid to the memory of the illustrious dead,* surrounded by objects telling the same theme of sepulchral grandeur, and now monuments of departed greatness, mouldering in all the solemnity of ruin. So paramount is this funereal character in the approach to Athens

Greece. To lord Aberdeen, History and the Fine Arts will ever be indebted for the pains he bestowed in the excavation and restoration of the *Pnyx*, and for other similar undertakings. (*See Appendix to the Cambridge Marbles*, p. 67. *Camb.* 1809.) Many of our countrymen have since followed lord Aberdeen's example.

Upon the subject of the excavations at Athens, Mr. Walpole has the following observations in his Journal:

"Travellers who will be at the pains to excavate the soil in the vicinity of Athens will be amply rewarded for their trouble. The vases which signior Lusieri has found in digging near the city are, in their form and general execution, not to be surpassed by any that have been discovered in Italy and Sicily. Among other remains of antiquity, he has found musical instruments (the αὐλὸς and πλαγίαυλος, called by the modern Greeks, παγιαύλιον,) ornaments of dress of various kinds, ear-rings of gold, and mirrors. These last are of metal: in Pliny (lib. 34.) we find mention of the employment of tin and silver in the fabrication of them: the Jews and Egyptians used those made of brass. In the time of Pompey there were some silver. The form of the ancient mirror is observed frequently on vases in this shape ♀, being the character of one of the planets and a metal; namely, Venus, and copper: the meaning of it, thus applied, is evident, as mirrors were sacred to Venus, and were made of a metal from Cyprus; that is, copper, and were covered with a leaf of silver. In the analysis of a mirror, Caylus discovered a mixture of copper, regulus of antimony, and lead: copper was the preponderating; lead, the least part.

"In the Ceramicus, near to the site of the Academy, was discovered that very ancient and interesting inscription in verse, (now in England,) of which Mons. Fauvel gave me a copy at Athens, relating to those Athenians who had fallen at Potidæa, in the Peloponnesian war: the first line, legible, begins, ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΤΧΑΣΥΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟ . . . The form of the letters, and other archaisms, render the inscription very valuable. Near the church of *Soteira Lycodemon*, probably the site of the ancient Lyceum, was found an inscription copied also by Mons. Fauvel, mentioning Dionysius, Λυκείου ἐπιμελητής. The removal of the earth from part of the *Pynx* has given us a more exact notion of the form of that celebrated place of assembly. A number of votive offerings were found at the time of the excavation by Lord Aberdeen; but to what Deity or what temple they belonged it is difficult to say. On one of them, having an eye sculptured on the stone, were the words Εὔδοξος ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν: on another I saw Σώτιφορος ὑψίστῳ Διΐ χασιστήριον." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

* The first place of worship in the Acropolis of Athens was the *Sepulchre of Cecrops.* The Parthenon was erected upon the spot. (*See the Observations in* c. XVII. *of the First Part of these Travels*, p. 400. *Second edit.*) The Athenians preserved his tomb in the Acropolis, and that of *Ericthonius* in the temple of Minerva Polias. (*Vid. Antioch. ap. Clemen. Alexand.* tom. I. p. 39. *Oxon* 1715.) Hence *Clemens* is of opinion that tombs were the origin of all their temples: Νεὼς μὲν εὐφήμως ὀνομαζομένους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους, τούτεστι τοὺς τάφους νεὼς ἐνικεκλημένους. Clementis Alexandrini Cohortatio ad Gentes, c. 3. tom. I. p. 39. *Oxon.* 1715.

from the *Piræeus*, that as we passed the hill of the *Musèum*, which was in fact an ancient cemetery of the Athenians, we might have imagined ourselves to be among the tombs of Telmessus, from the number of the sepulchres hewn in the rock, and from the antiquity of the workmanship, evidently not of later date than any thing of the kind in Asia Minor. In other respects the city exhibits nearly the appearance so briefly described by Strabo eighteen centuries before our coming;* and perhaps it wears a more magnificent aspect, owing to the splendid remains of Hadrian's temple of Olympian Jove, which did not exist when Athens was visited by this disciple of Xenarchus. The prodigious columns belonging to the temple appeared full in view between the citadel and the bed of the Ilissus:† high upon our left rose the Acropolis, in the most impressive grandeur: an advanced part of the rock upon the western side of it is the Hill of the *Areopagus*, where St. Paul preached to the Athenians, and where their most solemn tribunal was held.‡ Beyond all, appeared the beautiful Plain of Athens, bounded by *Mount Hymettus*. We rode toward the craggy rock of the citadel, passing some tiers of circular arches at the foot of it; these are the remains of the *Odèum* of Herodes Atticus,§ built in memory of his wife Regilla. Thence continuing to skirt the base of the Acropolis, the road winding rather toward the north, we saw also, upon our left, scooped in the solid rock, the circular sweep on which the Athenians were wont to assemble to hear the plays of *Æschylus*, and where the theatre of Bacchus was afterwards constructed. The *Torso* of a statue of the Indian Bacchus, placed, in a sitting attitude, upon the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus above this theatre, exhibited to us the first specimen of Athenian sculpture which we had seen upon the spot; and with the additional satisfaction of viewing it in

* Τὸ δ' ἄστυ αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ, περιοικουμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν, ὅ, τε ἀρχαῖος νεὼς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, καὶ ὁ Παρθενὼν, ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἰκτῖνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Φειδίου ἔργον ἐλεφάντινον, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 574. *Oxon.* 1807.

† The author pretends not to agitate the question, whether this building be really the *Temple of Jupiter*, or the *Pantheon;* the reader may be referred to the proofs in support of the former opinion, as they are given by the Earl of Aberdeen, in the *Introduction* to *Wilkin's Translation of Vitruvius*, p. 66, also in Note (1) to page 9 of the Text of that work. *Lond.* 1812.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

the situation where it was originally placed.* Stuart considered the theatre as the *Odeum* of Pericles;† and it is remarkable that Pausanias mentions a statue of Bacchus as worthy of notice, in a conspicuous situation upon entering the *Odeum*.‡ Upon the eastern side of this statue, fastened in the rock, appeared a still more interesting relique; namely, the very ancient Sun-dial which, in the time of Æschylus, of Sophocles, and Euripides, indicated to the Athenian people the hour at which their plays were to begin. This we had reason to hope would be permitted to remain where it had been so long preserved; as no ancient nor modern *Alaric* had deemed it to be an object worthy of his regard. Above the statue we saw also the two Choragic Pillars for supporting tripods, described by Chandler◊ and by Stuart,‖ standing high upon the steep acclivity of the rock. Fortunately for us, we arrived before the spoliation of this part of the ancient city had been begun, and we therefore saw all these interesting objects as they existed in the time of Pericles.

We then entered the gate of the modern city; and almost the first object we beheld was the only remaining structure of all the consecrated fabrics that once adorned the famous street of the Tripods, the elegant *choragic monument of Lysicrates*.** In the small Capuchin convent annexed to this building, our friend and former companion in the Plain of Troy, *Don Battista Lusieri*,† had fixed his residence. A

* This statue was long believed to be that of a female head. (*See Stuart's Antiq. of Athens*, vol. II. *ch.* iv. *Pl.* 6. *Lond.* 1787.) Chandler considered it as the statue of Niobe. (*Trav. in Greece*, p. 64. *Oxf.* 1776.) It really represented the Indian, or bearded, Bacchus; part of the beard having been discovered upon the statue. It is moreover decorated with the spoils of a panther. Alas! not only this statue, but also the ancient Sun dial near to it, which had existed there ever since the time of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides—antiquities which were only valuable as long as they remained in their original situation—*have been since pulled down and carried off*, in the name of the British Nation, by the agents of our Ambassador at the Porte !!!

† Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. p. 7. Letter *k*.

‡ Ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν εἰσελθοῦσιν ᾠδεῖον, ἀλλά τε καὶ Διόνυσος κεῖται θέας ἄξιος. Pausan. lib. i. c. 14. p. 34. *Lips.* 1696

◊ Trav. in Greece, p. 63 *Oxford*, 1776.

‖ Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. ch. 4. *Lond.* 1787.

** See Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, vol. I. ch. iv. Plate 3. *Lond.* 1762.

†† This celebrated artist, better known by the name of *Don Tita*, is a native of Naples: he resided many years in Italy, where he was renowned for his beautiful drawings in water-colours. Many of his best works are in the collections of our English nobility. By some, his compositions have been deemed too labboured; but his colouring is exquisite, and nothing can exceed the fidelity and perfection of his outline and perspective. It may be said of Lusieri, as of Claude Lorrain, "If he be not the *Poet* he is the *Historian* of Nature." When the French invaded Naples, he retired to Sicily, and was long employed among the Ruins of *Agrigentum*, devoted entirely to his favourite pursuit. The desire of seeing Greece tempted him to follow

monk told us that he was then busy in the Acropolis, making drawings in the ERECTHEUM; therefore, leaving our horses and baggage, we set out instantly in pursuit of him, anticipating the gratification we should receive, not only in surprising him by our appearance where he had not the smallest expectation of seeing us, but also in viewing the noblest monuments of antiquity with a *Cicerone* so well qualified to point our their beauties.

As we are now about to ascend the Acropolis, and of course to enter upon a description of antiquities which are well known, it is necessary to premise that our observations will be brief. To give a detailed account of every thing which has been hitherto deemed worthy of notice in such a city as Athens, would be as much a work of supererogation as to republish all the inscriptions which have been found in the place, and to renew the detail of every circumstance so often related concerning its ancient history. The author's remarks will be confined to such observations as, to the best of his knowledge, have not been made by former travellers; but perhaps, even in such a communication, it will not be always possible to avoid repeating what others may have said. A mistaken opinion prevailed until toward the end of the seventeenth century,* that the remains of Athens had been almost razed from the earth, and that even its name no longer existed. The few merchants who resorted to the *Piræeus*, from Italy and from other parts of the Mediterranean, had given to it the barbarous appellation of *Setines* or *Sethina*;† although, "of all the ancient cities in

the British embassy to Constantinople in 1799: whence he removed to Athens; where he now lives, surrounded by every thing that may exercise his genius; and where he is not less distinguished by his amiable disposition, and disinterested attention to travellers who visit the city, than by his taste, and knowledge of every thing connected with the history of the Fine Arts.

* Chandler says, "until the middle of the sixteenth century;" but the public curiosity does not appear to have been directed to this city until long after the publication of the work to which he alludes.

† *Sethina*, and *Satina*, are corruptions, according to *Portus* and *Meursius*, from εἰς Ἀθηνᾶ. Various conjectures have arisen touching the origin of the ancient name. Heinsius (*in Aristar. Sac. Synt.* I. 1. p. 27.) derives it from the Chaldean מתתא THENA, signifying to *study* or *learn*, written with an article, MATHENA. In the time of Diodorus Siculus, and before him, it was a received opinion that Athens was peopled by the Egyptians: *Sais* in the Egyptian language answering to *Athenæ* in Greek. The word *Sethina* is found in the Latin poem of Hugo Favolius (*in Hodæp. Byz.* lib. iii.) who himself visited the spot.

"Undique sic miseræ nobis spectantur Athenæ,
Dædala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicas,
Indigenæ *Sethina* vocant."——

Greece," as an early traveller hath remarked who will presently be more particularly noticed, "no one has preserved its name with better success than Athens has done; for both Greeks and Turks call it 'Αθήνη." This is another instance of the corruptions introduced into the modern nomenclature of places in Greece by Italians and by Frenchmen: and it ought to be the constant endeavour of authors, by whom the country is described, to prevent this abuse, by adopting the ancient names in their writings, where it can be done with propriety, and certainly in all cases where they have been preserved by the inhabitants. It has been supposed that the first intelligence of the better fate of Athens was communicated to the world by the valuable publications of sir George Wheler and Jacob Spon; but seven years before Wheler and his companion arrived in Athens, it had been visited by the traveller above mentioned; who anticipated almost every thing which they have said upon this subject; and the narrative of whose travels, although little known and rarely noticed by any subsequent author, contains the most racy description of the city and of its inhabitants, of its antiquities and statistics, which had appeared before the time of its publication. This traveller was *De La Guilletiere*, or, as he sometimes signed himself, *Guillet*, answering to a name common in England, *Willet*. After four years of slavery in Barbary, he arrived in Athens, in company with two Italians, two Germans, and an Englishman of the name of *Drelingston*, the first of our countrymen who voluntarily undertook this voyage for the mere gratification of classical taste and literary curiosity. The original edition of *Guilletiere's* work appeared in Paris in January, 1675. In the beginning of June in the same year, *Wheler* "hastened to Venice," (it is in his own expression,*) after his travels in France and Italy, in search of *Dr. Spon*, to accompany him upon a similar voyage. It is therefore highly probable that the success of *Guilletiere's* expedition excited *Wheler* to this sudden undertaking: that he had seen his work is evident, for he cites it, calling its author *De La Gulitier*,† and *Guiliter*;‡ and although he speaks rather lightly of his predecessor,§ he some-

* Wheler's Journey into Greece, p. 1. *Lond.* 1682.
† Ibid. p. 340.
‡ Ibid. p. 363.
§ "But not as Monsieur *Guiliter* affirmeth" . . . . "My companion and I were not so much surprised, &c. as Monsieur *Guiliter*" . . . . . those marvellous stones Monsieur *Guiliter* makes such a miracle of" . . . . &c. *Ibid.*

times copies him without owning his obligation.* His companion, *Spon*, had done the same; but, with all his learning, he has not produced either so entertaining a work as that of *Guilletiere*, or, devested of its inscriptions, one that contains more of information. We may therefore, perhaps, look to *Guilletiere* as to the person who first drew the attention of English travellers toward the Ruins of Athens; for although the letters, giving a description of the city, which were published by *Martin Crusius*, appeared nearly a hundred years before, yet those letters have attracted more notice in this country since, than before, *Wheler's* time; and they always tended rather to maintain than to confute the erroneous notion, which was so long prevalent, concerning the condition of the city.† *Guilletiere's* unassuming, although very diminutive, publication is so comprehensive, that, abating a few partial inaccuracies, the consequences of pursuing an untrodden path, his book is, even at the present day, a useful guide to the antiquities of Athens; and his plan of the city, rude as it may appear among the works of later artists, is so much better than that which *Wheler* afterward edited, that it is strange the latter did not adopt it in his work.

As we ascended the steep rock on which the citadel stands, our first subject of wonder was the power displayed by the Ancients in conveying up such an acclivity the enormous masses of marble necessary in the construction of so many sumptuous edifices; when all the skill and ingenuity of the best workmen in Europe were requisite, at the time of our arrival, to remove some of the most delicate ornaments of the temples, in an entire state, from the Acropolis to the lower city. None

* Of this, several instances may be pointed out, where the transcript is as literal as it can be from one language into another. "A l'égard du langage, il est le plus pur, et le moins corrompu de la Grèce." (*Guilet*, p. 155. *Paris*, 1675.) "The Athenians seem to retain more of the ancient Greek in their language than the rest of the modern Greeks do" (*Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 355. *Lond.* 1682.) And, after all, this is not true; for the purest Greek is not spoken in Athens. Again, *Guilletiere*, after the passage which the author has cited concerning the existence of the ancient name of the city, says, "Nos géographes ont beau nous le vouloir alterer en l'appellant *Setines*." Wheler transcribes the whole; and also adds, "I wonder our modern geographers have been no better informed concerning so eminent a place, calling it most corruptly, in their maps, *Setines*" . . . &c. There are many other examples of a similar nature, in the volumes both of Wheler and Spon.

† One of those letters is from a native of Nauplia: it was written in 1575. Its author says, "Ἀλλὰ τί τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μνησθεὶς, μακρολογῶ; δίημα λειφθείσας τῆ πάλαι ποτὶ ζώου. Sed quid multa de Athenis dico? Superest hodie tantum pellis: animal ipsum olim periit." *Vid. Epist. Fam. Turcogræciæ*, lib. vii. p. 430. *Basil.* 1583.

of the materials of those temples are of the same nature as the rock upon which they were erected: the quarries of Pentelicus, of Hymettus, of the Cyclades, of Lacedæmon, and of the most distant mountains of Greece, contributed to the works necessary for their completion. All the huge blocks of marble required for the several parts of each building must have been moved up the same steep; for there is now, as there was formerly, but one way facing the Piræeus by which the summit may be approached.* In our ascent we found an inscription on white marble, stating that "the senate of the Areopagus, and of the six hundred, &c. honour Julius," &c. the rest being wanted: we could only make out the following characters:

ΗΕΞΑΡΕΙΟΥΠΑΓΟΥΒΟΥ
ΛΗΤΩΝΕΞΑΚΟΣΙΩΝΚΑΙ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΝΙΚΑΝΟΡΑ . .

Soon afterwards, somewhat higher up, we also saw, among some loose stones used as the materials of a wall, near to the gate of the Citadel, a piece of sculpture of white marble in very bold relief, representing the *torso* of a male figure. This proved to be nothing less than a fragment of one of the *metopes* belonging to the PARTHENON; and therefore, as the undoubted work of *Phidias*, although but a fragment, could not fail to be regarded by us as a valuable relic, and a very great curiosity. It was not to be easily procured, neglected and abandoned as we found it lying, owing to the embargo then laid upon every thing of this kind by our ambassador, and the absolute prohibition against moving any thing, excepting into his store-house. The *Disdar*, however, afterwards claimed it as his property, and presented it to us; and it is now in the vestibule of the University library at Cambridge, a solitary example of sculpture removed from the ruins of the Parthenon without injuring what time and the Goths have spared. Upon the left hand we saw, in the face of the rock, the small cavern which perhaps may be considered as *the grotto of Pan*; for this, by its relative position to other objects, seems to be the identical cavity which is

* Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἴσιν εἴσοδος μία, (ἐτέφαν δὲ οὐ παρῆκεναι, πᾶσα ἀνότομος οὖσα) καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἰχυφόν. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 22. p. 51. *Lips.* 1696.

represented in the view of the Acropolis preserved upon an ancient medal of Athens in the collection at Paris.* It is below the right wing of the *Propylæa*, or ancient vestibules of the citadel, in the situation which Pausanias assigns for it; and somewhat lower in the rock is the fountain mentioned also by him.† In other respects it seems ill suited to the stories which caused it to be considered as the scene of *Apollo's* amours with *Creusa*, and as the place of residence for *Pan:* but when the mind is completely subdued by superstition, it is seldom burdened by any scruples as to *probability:* the same priests who now exhibit at Jerusalem the altar of a small chapel as the *hill of the crucifixion*‡ are a modern example of the Ναοφύλακες, who attended the *shrine of Pan*, and they possess a degree of intellect as well calculated for admitting the extravagances related of the one as of the other. The grotto, as it now appears, seems to be nothing more than one of those niches in which votive offerings were placed; and although described as a cave which contained *a temple of Apollo, and of Pan*,§ would barely admit the size of a human figure. But this allusion in ancient history to temples so diminutive that they could not have exceeded the size of a child's *baby-house*, may receive illustration, like many other parts of the heathen religion, from existing superstitions. The subject has not perhaps been sufficiently explained; as none of the authors who have written on Grecian antiquities seem to be aware of a custom which has been transmitted from the earliest ages of Pagan worwhip to modern times. The Ἱερὰ of the Greeks, as well as the *tabernacles* of eastern nations, were sometimes not only *portable*, but they were so small, that the κίστοι ἱεροί, used for enclosing them during journeys, scarcely exceeded the size of the fashionable snuff-boxes now used by the *petit-maitres* of Paris and London. Examples of this kind of *portable shrine* are particularly common in Russia, and in all countries professing the religion of the Greek church: they are made either of wood or of metal, with two little folding doors, which are thrown open when the *bogh* or *idol* is to be worshipped.‖

* See the Greek Coin engraved for Bathelemy's Anacharsis, Tab. XXVII. No. 1. *Paris*, 1790.

† Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια, πηγή τε ὕδατός ἐστι, καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ, καὶ Πανός. Pausaniæ, lib. i. cap. 28. p. 68. *Lipsæ*. 1696.

‡ See the former section, cap. xvi. p. 33.

§ Vid. Pausan. lib. i. ubi supra.

‖ The pictures of Roman Catholic churches have preserved the form of

Of such a nature were the *shrines* alluded to in the history of the actions of the Apostles, where Demetrius is described as stirring up those who made *silver shrines* or *tabernacles* for Diana;* that is to say, *little temples*, or *cabinets* after the manner of temples. The custom of using them has been retained among the Roman Catholics. The first converts to christianity brought the use of *portable temples* with them into the christian church: for, according to *Socrates Scholasticus*, the emperor *Constantine* carried with him a *portable temple* in his expedition against the Persians, not for the worship of any idol, but of the true God:† this was a kind of *tent* said to resemble the tabernacle of Moses in the desert.‡ Temples of this kind were also drawn by cattle. The Philistines sent back "the Ark of the God of Israel" in a new cart" drawn by "two milch kine."§ The temple of *Agrotes*, according to *Sanchoniatho*, was drawn by oxen. The *portable temple* was also sometimes carried upon men's shoulders: and although the "*bearing*" or "*taking of tabernacles*" are expressions used metaphorically in scripture for the adoration paid to them, yet they are borrowed from a practice, which was well known at the time, of carrying the tabernacle upon the shoulders of men from one place to another. Thus the Israelites are said to have "*borne*," and to "*take up*," the "tabernacle of Moloch."‖ Such *portable temples* among the ancients were conveyed with them to their wars, and accompanied them upon their travels. This was the constant usage of Arabians,** Egyptians,†† Trojans,‡‡ Carthaginians,§§ and Germans.‖‖ When settlements were made, and cities built, they were of course deposited in safe but conspicuous places; in cavities fashioned for the purpose, within the rocks on which their citadels stood: or in niches, by the

these shrines to a very late age; the doors themselves being painted, and serving, when thrown open, to exhibit a subject in three compartments. Of this form was the famous picture of the crucifixion, by Rubens, in the Cathedral at Antwerp.

* Acts xix. 24.

† Socrates Scholasticus, lib. i. c. 18. *Cantab.* 1720.

‡ Ibid.

§ 1 Sam. c. vi. 3, 7, &c.

‖ Amos, c. v. Psalms, &c.

** See the authors quoted by Hottinger, Comp. Theatri Orient. c. i.

†† Apuleius Apol. p. 506.

‡‡ See Servius on Æn. vi. ver. 68. Dio. lib. xl. Herodian, lib. iv. and Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxii.

§§ See Calmet's Dict. art. *Niches;* and the authors referred to by *Fabricius*, Bibliographia Ant. c. viii. 18.

‖‖ Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

side of their most frequented roads. *Fliera*, answering to this description, are found at this day, in all countries professing the Greek and Roman Catholic religions; before which *votive gifts* are placed, as in former ages; and this seems sufficient to explain the sort of *temples* alluded to by ancient authors, as being here stationed within a niche, called the *Cave of Pan*, in the face of the rock below the Acropolis of Athens. Within this cave there formerly stood a statue of the goat-footed god; who, on that account, was said by Euripides,* and by Lucian,† to have fixed his residence at Athens, beneath the northern or Pelasgic wall of the Acropolis; and it is rather remarkable, that in a garden below this grotto at the foot of the rock, there was discovered a marble statue of *Pan*, of a size to suit the cavity, which exactly corresponds with the description of the ancient image in the grotto, bearing a trophy upon its head;‡ for the iron cramp, by which this burden was sustained and connected with the mass of marble used for the lower part of the figure, yet remains. We saw this statue upon the spot where it was discovered; and we removed it to the university of Cambridge, where it is now placed, with the other Greek marbles, in the vestibule of the public library.§ The drapery afforded by the spoils of a goat thrown over the figure is executed in the very ancient style of sculpture called Græco-Etruscan; and there is great reason to believe that this is the identical statue alluded to by Lucian, as before cited. Not far from the same place there was also found the *torso* of a small marble statue of *Apollo*, of a more diminutive size than that

* Κρ. Ἄκουε τοίνυν· οἶσθα Κεκροπίας πέτρας;
Πρόσβορρον ἄντρον, ἃς Μακρὰς καλοῦμεν.
Πρ. Οἶδ', ἔνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτα, καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας.
"Audi igitur; novisti Cecropias rupes,
Septentrionale in iis antrum, quas Macras vocamus?"
"Scio, ubi est sacellum Panis et ara prope."
Euripid. in Ion. 936. p. 334. *Edit. Barnes. Cantab.* 1694.

† Καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου, τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα ταύτην ἀπολαβόμενος, οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, κ. τ. λ. Luciani Bis Accusatus, tom. VII. p. 60. *Bipont.* 1790.

‡ Lucian. Deorum Dialogi, xxii. 3. Panis et Mercurii. *Bipont.* 1790.

§ An engraving of this statue, from a drawing by the celebrated Flaxman, was made for Mr. Wilkin's Antiquities of Magna Græcia, (p. 71.) For a further account of it, see "*Greek Marbles*," p. 9. No. XI. *Camb.* 1800. The author is, however, fully disposed to agree in the opinion which was first suggested by Flaxman, that the burden upon the head (which, from the appearance of the iron cramp, must have been equal in size to the whole mass of the marble) was the identical trophy mentioned by Lucian.

of *Pan*, but executed in a style equal to any thing produced in the most splendid era of the art. This we also brought to England. There is certainly something singular in such an association so near to the *Adytum*, said to be tenanted by these two deities. The identity of the grotto itself was a theme of dispute among earlier travellers, who gave to the subject more consideration than perhaps it may seem to merit. *Guilletiere* is the first of the moderns by whom it is noticed. He had been with his companions to visit the small chapel called *Panagia Spiliotissa*, or our *Lady of the Grotto*, in a hollow of the rock, above the theatre of Bacchus, at the south-east angle of the Acropolis; which a Greek spy, a native of Candia, had pointed out to the Venetians as a proper place to serve as a mine in blowing up the citadel.* *Guilletiere* persuaded himself that the *Panagia* was nothing less than the actual grotto once dedicated to *Apollo* and *Pan*, which is mentioned by Euripides in two or three of his tragedies.† Seven years after *Guilletiere's* visit, the same cavern was examined by *Wheler* and by *Spon;* both of whom deny that it was the grotto of Pan, as mentioned by *Guilletiere;* and they place the real grotto of Pan upon the northern side of the citadel, beneath the Pelasgic wall, according to the testimonies of Euripides and of Lucian.‡ Chandler afterward confirmed their observations:§ and in this state the question now rests; no one having since expressed any doubt upon the subject.

As we drew near to the present entrance of the citadel, we passed before the *façade* of the *Propylæa;* the old entrance to the Acropolis between its Doric pillars being walled up. The Turkish guard at the gate suffered us to pass as soon as we mentioned the name of *Lusieri;* and one of them offered to conduct us to the spot where he was then at work. We found him in the midst of the ruins of the *Erecthéum*, seated upon a heap of stones, with his drawing implements

* Voyage d'Athens, par. Sr. De la Guilletiere, p. 180. *Paris*, 1675.

† "Dés que nous fusmes sortis de *Panagia*, j'obligeay nos gens à tourner la tête pour y regarder avec plus d'attention, parce que je les fis souvenir que c'estoit la *cette Grotte* si célébre dans l'antiquité, &c. Grace à la dureté du rocher, c'est là le plus entier de tous les célébres monumens qui nous sont restez de l'ancienne Athénes. Euripide a parlé de *cet antre*, en deux ou trois endroit's de ses trajédies." *Ibid.* p. 179.

‡ Euripid. in Ion. vv. 17. 501. 936. Lucian, as before cited. See Wheler's Journey into Greece, p. 369. *Lond.* 1682. Also Voyage par Jacob Spon, tom. II. p. 97. *à la Haye*, 1724.

§ Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 59. *Oxford*, 1776.

before him, equally surprised and delighted to see us once more, and in such a place. It happened that the very pencil which he was then using was one of several, made by Middleton, which the author had conveyed for him from England to Naples many years before. He had only two remaining: and he considered them of so much importance to the perfection of his designs, that he would willingly have purchased more at an equal weight of gold; using them only in tracing the *outline*, and as sparingly as possible. The best illustration of his remark was in a sight of the *outlines* he had then finished. It might have been said of the time he had spent in Athens, as of Appelles, "*Nulla dies sine lineâ*:" but such was the extraordinary skill and application shown in the designs he was then completing, that every grace and beauty of the sculpture, every fair and exquisite proportion, every trace of the injuries which time had effected upon the building, every vein in the marble, were visible in the drawing; and in such perfection, that even the nature and qualities of the stone itself might be recognised in the contour.* He would not hear of our descending again from the Acropolis before the evening: but gave us a recommendation to the house of a widow, sister of the late English consul, where he said we might be comfortably lodged; and to which he promised to conduct us, after dining with him and the *Disdar*, or governor of the citadel, in the midst of the splendid remains of architecture and sculpture by which we were surrounded. He became our guide to all the different buildings; and began by showing us the PARTHENON. Some workmen, employed under his direction for the British ambassador, were then engaged in making preparation, by means of ropes and pulleys, for taking down the *metopes*, where the sculpture remained the most perfect. The *Disdar* himself came to view the work, but with evident marks of dissatisfaction; and *Lusieri* told

* Whoever may hereafter be the possessor of these drawings, will have in the mere *outlines* (for it is impossible this artist can ever finish the collection he has made,) a representation of the antiquities and beautiful scenery of Greece, inferior to nothing but the actual sight of them. Hitherto no Mæcenas has dignified himself by any thing deserving the title of a patron of such excellence. Many have bought his designs when he could be induced to part with them, by which means he has barely obtained subsistence; and he is too passionately attached to the sources which Athens has afforded to his genius, to abandon Greece, even for the neglect which, in his letters to the author, he complains of having there experienced.

us that it was with great difficulty he could accomplish this part of his undertaking, from the attachment the Turks entertained towards a building which they had been accustomed to regard with religious veneration, and had converted into a mosque. We confessed that we participated the mahometan feeling in this instance, and would gladly see an order enforced to preserve rather than to destroy such a glorious edifice. After a short time spent in examining the several parts of the temple, one of the workmen came to inform *Don Battista* that they were then going to lower one of the *metopes*. We saw this fine piece of sculpture raised from its station between the *triglyphs;* but the workmen endeavouring to give it a position adapted to the projected line of descent, a part of the adjoining masonry was loosened by the machinery; and down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble, scattering their white fragments with thundering noise among the ruins. The *Disdar*, seeing this, could no longer restrain his emotions; but actually took his pipe from his mouth, and, letting fall a tear, said in a most emphatical tone of voice, "Τίλος!" positively declaring that nothing should induce him to consent to any further dilapidation of the building.* Looking up, we saw with regret the gap that

* This man was, however, poor, and had a family to support; consequently he was unable to withstand the temptations which a little money, accompanied by splendid promises, offered to the necessities of his situation. So far from adhering to his resolution, he was afterwards gradually prevailed upon to allow all the finest pieces of sculpture belonging to the Parthenon to be taken down; and succeeding travellers speak with concern of the injuries the building has sustained, exclusively of the loss caused by the removal of the *metopes*. One example of this nature may be mentioned; which, while it shows the havock that has been carried on, will also prove the want of taste and utter barbarism of the undertaking. In one of the angles of the pediment which was over the eastern *façade* of the temple, there was a *horse's head*, supposed to be intended for the *horse of Neptune* issuing from the earth, when struck by his trident, during his altercation with *Minerva* for the possession of Attica. The head of this animal had been so judiciously placed by Phidias, that, to a spectator below, it seemed to be rising from an abyss, foaming, and struggling to burst from its confined situation, with a degree of energy suited to the greatness and dignity of its character. All the *perspective of the sculpture*, (if such an expression be admissible,) and certainly all the harmony and fitness of its proportions, and all the effect of attitude and force of composition, depended upon the work being viewed precisely at the distance in which Phidias designed that it should be seen. Its removal, therefore, from its situation amounted to nothing less than its destruction:—take it down, and all the aim of the sculptor is instantly frustrated! Could any one believe that this was actually done? and that it was done, too, in the name of a nation vain of its distinction in the fine arts? Nay more, that in doing this, finding the removal of this piece of sculpture could not be effected without destroying the entire angle of the pediment, the work of destruction was allowed to proceed even to this ex-

had been made; which all the ambassadors of the earth, with all the sovereigns they represent, aided by every resource that wealth and talent can now bestow, will never again repair. As to our friend *Lusieri*, it is hardly necessary to exculpate him; because he could not only obey the orders he had received, and this he did with manifest reluctance: neither was there a workman employed in the undertaking, among the artists sent out of Rome for that purpose, who did not express his concern that such havock should be deemed necessary, after *moulds* and *casts* had been already made of all the sculpture which it was designed to remove. The author would gladly have avoided the introduction of this subject: but as he was an eye-witness of these proceedings, it constitutes a part of the duties he has to fulfil in giving a narrative of his travels; and if his work be destined to survive him, it shall not, by its taciturnity with regard to the spoliation of the Athenian temples, seem to indicate any thing like an approval of the measures which have tended so materially toward their destruction.

To a person who has seen the ruins of Rome, the first suggestion made by a sight of the buildings in the Acropolis is that of the infinite superiority of the Athenian architecture. It possesses the greatness and majesty of the Egyptian, or of the ancient Etruscan style, with all the elegant propor-

tent also? Thus the form of the temple has sustained a greater injury than it had already experienced from the Venetian artillery; and the *horse's head* has been removed, to be placed where it exhibits nothing of its original effect: like the acquisition said to have been made by another nobleman, who, being delighted at a puppet-show, bought punch, and was chagrined to find when he carried him home that the figure had lost all its humour. Yet we are seriously told, (*Memorandum*, p. 8. *Lond.* 1811.) that this mischief has been done with a view to "rescue these specimens of sculpture from impending ruin:" then, why not exert the same influence which was employed in removing them, to induce the Turkish government to adopt measures for their effectual preservation! Ah no! a wiser scheme was in agitation: it was at first attempted to have them all *mended* by some modern artist!!! (*See Memor.* p. 39.) From this calamity they were rescued by the good taste of *Canova*. (*Ibid.*) The sight of them (*Memor.* p. 42.) "so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs. Siddons, *the pride of theatrical representation*, as actually to draw tears from her eyes." And who marvels at such emotion?

"Cold is the heart, fair Greece! that looks on thee,
Nor feels as lovers o'er the dust they lov'd;
Dull is the eye that will not weep to see
Thy walls defac'd, thy mouldering shrines remov'd
By British hands, which it had best behoov'd
To guard those relics—ne'er to be restor'd.
Curst be that hour when from their isle they rov'd,
And once again thy hapless bosom gor'd,
And snatch'd thy shrinking gods to northern climes abhorr'd."
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto II. 15. *Lond.* 1812.

tions, the rich ornaments, and the discriminating taste of the most splendid era of the arts. "Accustomed as we were," said Stuart,* in speaking of the Parthenon, "to the ancient and modern magnificence of Rome, and, by what we had heard and read, impressed with an advantageous opinion of what we were come to see, we found the image of our fancy had preconceived greatly inferior to the real object." Yet Wheler, who upon such a subject cannot be considere as of equal authority with Stuart, says of the monuments of antiquity yet remaining in Athens,† "I dare prefer them before any place in the world, *Rome only excepted.*" If there be existing upon the earth any buildings which may fairly be brought into a comparison with the *Parthenon*, they are the temples of *Pæstum* in Lucania; but even these can only be so with reference to their superior antiquity, to their severe simplicity, and to the perfection of design visible in their structure: in graceful proportion, in magnificence, in costliness of materials, in splendid decoration, and in every thing that may denote the highest degree of improvement to which the Doric style of architecture ever attained, they are vastly inferior. This is at least the author's opinion. Lusieri, however, entertained different sentiments; and his authority upon such a subject is much more worthy of the reader's attention. Lusieri had resided at *Pæstum;* and had dedicated to those buildings a degree of study, which, added to his knowledge of the arts, well qualified him to decide upon a question as to the relative merits of the *Athenian* and *Posidonian* specimens of Grecian architecture. His opinion is very remarkable: he considered the temples of *Pæstum* as examples of a purer style; or, as he termed it, of a more correct and classical taste. "In those buildings," said he, "the Doric order attained a preëminence beyond which it never passed; not a stone has been there placed without some evident and important design; every part of the structure bespeaks its own essential utility." He held the same opinion with regard to the temple of the *Panhellenian Jupiter*, in the Island of Ægina. "Of such a nature," he added, "were works in architecture, when the whole aim of the architect was to unite grandeur with utility; the former being founded on the lat-

* Antiquities of Athens, vol. II. p. 9. *Lond.* 1787.
† Journey into Greece, Book V. p. 359. *Lond.* 1682.

ter. All then was truth, strength, and sublimity." According to his opinion, a different character is applicable to the Parthenon. In this building, the Doric, having attained its due proportions, was supposed to be displayed with every perfection which the arts of Greece could accomplish: but this has not been the case. In all that relates to harmony, elegance, execution, beauty, proportion, the Parthenon stands a *chef-d'œuvre;* every portion of the sculpture by which it is so highly decorated has all the delicacy of a caméo: but still there are faults in the building, and proofs of negligence, which are not found in the temples of Pæstum; and these Lusieri considered as striking evidences of the state of public morals in the gay days of Pericles; for he said it was evident that he had been cheated by his workmen. He pointed those defects out to us. Above the architrave, behind the *metopes* and *triglyphs*, there are vacuities sufficiently spacious for a person to walk in, which, in some instances, and perhaps in all, had been carelessly filled with loose materials; but at Pæstum the same parts of the work are of solid stone, particularly near the angles of those temples; which consist of such prodigious masses, that it is inconceivable how they were raised and adjusted. In other parts of the Parthenon there are also superfluities; which are unknown in the buildings of Pæstum, where nothing superfluous can be discerned. These remarks, as they were made by an intelligent artist, who, with leisure and abilities for the inquiry, has paid more attention to the subject than any one else, we have been careful to preserve. For our own parts, in viewing the Parthenon, we were so much affected by its solemn appearance, and so much dazzled by its general splendour and magnificence, that we should never have ventured to this critical examination of the parts composing it; nor could we be persuaded entirely to acquiesce in the opinion thus founded upon a comparison of it with the *Posidonian* and *Æginetan* buildings. Often as it has been described, the spectator, who for the first time approaches it, finds that nothing he has read can give any idea of the effect produced in beholding it. Yet was there once found in England a writer of eminence in his profession as an architect,* who recom-

* See a treatise on the Decorative part of Civil Architecture, by sir William Chambers, p. 19. 21, &c. Third edition. *Lond.* 1791. Also, Beverley's Reply, in his Pref. to the Third Volume of Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, p. 10. *Lond.* 1794.

mended the study of Roman antiquities in Italy and in France, in preference to the remains of Grecian architecture in Athens: and who, deciding upon the works of Phidias, Callicrates, and Ictinus, without ever having had an opportunity to examine them but in books and prints, ventured to maintain that the Parthenon was not so considerable an edifice as the church of St. Martin in London; thereby affording a remarkable proof of the impossibility of obtaining from any written description, or even from engraved representation, any adequate idea of the buildings of ancient Greece; compared with whose stupendous works, the puny efforts of modern art are but as the labours of children.

By means of the scaffolds raised against the Parthenon for the *Formatori*, and for other artists who were engaged in moulding and making drawings from the sculpture upon the frieze, we were enabled to ascend to all the higher parts of the building, and to examine with the minutest attention to all the ornaments of this glorious edifice. The sculpture on the *metopes*, representing the combats of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, is in such bold relief, that the figures are all of them statues; upon coming close to the work, and examining the state of the marble, it was evident that a very principal cause of the injuries it had sustained was owing, not, as it has been asserted,* to "*the zeal of the early Christians*,† the barbarism of the Turks, or to the explosions which took place when the temple was used as a powder magazine," but to the decomposition of the stone itself, in consequence of the action of the atmosphere during so many ages. The mischief has originated in the sort of marble which was used for the building; this, not

* Memorandum on the subject of the earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, p. 11. *Lond.* 1811.

† In the little Tract which the author published in 1803, containing the "Testimonies of different authors respecting the statue of Ceres," p. 4. and also in his account of the "Cambridge Marbles," published in 1809. p. 15. he attributed to "*the zeal of the early Christians*" a part of the injury done to the Temple at Eleusis. He has since been much amused by finding the same expression adopted by the writer of the Earl of Elgin's "*Memorandum*" above cited, where the "*early Christians*" are made also responsible for the injury done to the *metopes* of the Parthenon. (See *Memorandum*, p. 11.) Now, abating the *long arms*, or the *long ladders*, which the said Christians must have called into action to reach the entablature of this building, it does not appear highly probable that the very people who consecrated the Parthenon, as Wheler says, "*to serve God in*," would take so much pains to disfigure and to destroy their place of worship.

being entirely homogeneous, is characterized by a tendency to exfoliate when long exposed to air and moisture. Any person may be convinced of this, who will examine the specimens of sculpture which have been since removed to this country from the *Parthenon;* although, being expressly selected as the most perfect examples of the work, they do not exhibit this decomposition so visibly as the remaining parts of the building. But throughout the *metopes*, and in all the exquisite sculpture of the frieze which surrounded the outside of the cell of the temple, this may be observed: a person putting his hand behind the figures, or upon the plinth, where the parts have been less exposed to the atmosphere, may perceive the polished surface, as it was left when the work was finished, still preserving a high degree of smoothness: but the exterior parts of the stone have been altered by *weathering;* and where veins of schistus in the marble have been affected by decomposition, considerable parts have fallen off. Yet to operate an effect of this nature it required the lapse of twenty-three centuries; and we may fairly conclude that what remained had undergone sufficient trial to have continued unaltered for a series of ages: at all events, it would have been safe from the injuries to which the finest parts of the sculpture have been since so lamentably exposed, when they were torn from the temple, either to be swallowed by the waves of *Cythera*, or to moulder under the influence of a climate peculiarly qualified to assist their progress toward destruction.*

It is with reluctance that the author omits a description of the whole of the sculpture upon the frieze beneath the ceiling of the *Peripterus*.† To an artist, the boldness and masterly execution of the *metopes* may be more interesting; but a sight of the splendid solemnity of the whole *Panathenaic Festival*, represented by the best artists of ancient Greece, in one continued picture above three feet in height, and originally six hundred feet in length, of which a very considerable portion now remains, is alone worth a journey to Athens; nor will any scholar deem the undertaking to be unprofitable who should visit Greece for this alone. The whole popu-

* "The ambassador has carried off every rich morsel of sculpture that was to be found in the *Parthenon:* so that he, in future, who wishes to see Athens, must make a journey to Scotland." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

† For a full account of it, see Stuart's Athens, vol. II. p. 12. *Lond.* 1787.

lation of the ancient city, animated by the bustle and business of the *Panathenæa*, seems to be exhibited by this admirable work; persons of either sex and of every age, priests, charioteers, horsemen, cattle, victors, youths, maidens, victims, gods, and heroes, all enter into the procession; every countenance expresses the earnestness and greatness of the occasion; and every magnificence of costume, and varied disposition of the subject, add to the effect of the representation. It is somewhere said of Phidias, that, as a sculptor, he particularly excelled in his statues of horses: perhaps some notion may be conceived of the magic of his art, when it is related, that of a hundred horses introduced by him into the *Panathenaic pomp*, there are not two, either in the same attitude, or which are not characterized by a marked difference of expression. Some circumstances were made known to us by our being able to examine the marble closely, which we did not know before; although they had been alluded to by Stuart:* the bridles of the horses were originally of gilded bronze; this we perceived by the holes left in the stone for affixing the metal, and also by little bits of the bronze itself, which the *Formatori* had found in the work. We should hardly have believed that such an article of dress as the leathern boot, with its top turned over the calf of the leg, was worn by the ancient Athenian, as well as by English cavaliers, if we had not seen the *Cothurnus* so represented upon the figures of some of the young horsemen in this procession: and as coxcomically adapted to the shape of the leg, and set off with as great nicety, as for a Newmarket jockey. Another singular piece of foppery, worn also by the Athenian beaux, consisted of a light gipsey hat, perhaps made of straw tied with ribands under the chin. We noticed the figure of a young horseman with one of these hats, who seemed, from his appearance in the procession, to be a person of distinction, curbing a galloping steed; but the wind had blown the hat from his head, and, being held by the ribands about the neck, it hung behind the rider, as if floating in the air: the sculptor having evidently availed himself of this representation to heighten the appearance of action in the groupe, and nothing could be more spirited. That this kind of hat was considered as a mark of distinction, seems to be probable, from the circumstance of its being still worn by the

* Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. p. 14. *Lond.* 1787.

Patriarchs of the Greek church :* it appears upon the head of the Patriarch of Constantinople, as he is represented by a wood cut in the work of Martin Crusius ;† but perhaps in the latter instance it should rather be considered as the *petasus*‡ than the *pileus*. Also, by attending to its appearance upon Grecian vases of *terra cotta*, we may perceive that it was worn by no common individuals. A beautiful figure of *Actæon*, with this kind of hat, is preserved upon one of the Greek Marbles in the University Library at Cambridge ;§ and another representation of the same person, similarly attired, appears upon the *Neapolitan Vase*,‖ where there is also an effigy of Castor with the *pileus* upon his head ; for *Actæon*, in both instances, is figured with his head uncovered, the hat hanging, by its ribands, in graceful negligence behind his shoulders ; and after this manner it is more frequently represented. Among the Romans, who rarely used any covering for the head, the *pileus*, when worn, was the distinguishing badge of freed-men ; and the use of it, as a privilege, was granted to persons who had obtained their liberty. In the heroic age no kind of hats were worn, if we may judge from the poems of Homer, where there is no allusion to any such article of apparel. Indeed, Eustathius affirms that the Romans derived their custom of going bareheaded from the Greeks :** hence it may almost be proved, that in this bas-relief, (as nothing was ever introduced by ancient artists into their designs without some symbolic allusion,) the hat was intended as a distinguishing token ; and its appearance is the more interesting, because it has been the opinion of antiquaries that this frieze contained the portraits of the leading characters at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war ; particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, and Alcibiades.††

We saw with the same advantage all the remaining sculp-

* See vol. I. of these Travels, p. 98.

† Turco Græcia, p. 106. *Basil.* 1583.

‡ Vid. Lipsius de Amphitheat. c. 19.

§ This marble represents the body of an Amphora, about three feet in length, from the shore of the Propontis. It was presented to the University by Mr. Spencer Smith, late Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, and brother of sir Sidney Smith. The sculpture is in low relief, but it is very ancient.

‖ Now in the possession of Mr. Edwards of Harrow, late bookseller in Pall Mall, London.

** Vid. Eustath. in Homer. Odyss. lib. i.

†† See memorandum on the subject of the earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece, p. 12. *Lond.* 1811.

ture of this edifice; visiting it often afterwards to examine the different parts more leisurely. Among the remains of the sculpture in the western pediment, which is in a very ruined state, the artists had observed, not only the traces of paint with which the statues had anciently been covered, but also of gilding. It was usual to gild the hair of the statues which represented *Deities*, and sometimes other parts of the bodies. This practice remained to a very late period of the art, as it has been already shown in a former part of this work.* During an excavation which Lusieri had carried on here, he had discovered the ancient pavement, in its entire state; consisting of the same white marble as the temple. We found an inscription, which proves how ancient the custom was of pronouncing the Greek B like the Roman V, by the manner of writing a name which must have been their *Victorinus:* "PHANEAS, HIEROPHANT, SON OF VICTORINUS."

ΦΑΝΕΙΑΣΤΗΣΒΙΚΤΩΡΕΙ
ΝΟΥΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ

Among the ruins of this and of other buildings in the Acropolis, we noticed the fragments of almost every kind of marble, and of the most beautiful varieties of *breccia;* but particularly of the *verd-antique*, entire columns of which had once adorned the *Erecthéum:* under a heap of loose stones and rubbish in the centre of it, we discovered the broken shaft of a verd-antique pillar of uncommon beauty: this we purchased of the Disdar; and having with great difficulty removed it from the Acropolis, we sent it to England.† A bluish-gray limestone was also used in some of the works; particularly in the exquisite ornaments in the *Erecthéum*, where the frieze of the temple and of its porticoes are not of marble, like the rest of the building, but of this sort of slate-like limestone: the tympanum of the pediment is likewise of the same stone; a singular circumstance truly, and requiring some explanation.‡ It resembles the limestone employed in the walls of the Cella of the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, and

* See chap. IV. p. 99. vol. 3.

† It is now in the Vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge. See "Greek Marbles," No. XVII. p. 39. *Camb.* 1809.

‡ For this fact the author is indebted to Mr. Wilkins, author of the Antiquities of Magna Græcia, &c.

in buildings before the use of marble was known for purposes of architecture; such, for example, as the sort of stone employed in the temple of Apollo at Phigalia,* and in other edifices of equal antiquity: it effervesces briskly in acids, and has all the properties of common compact limestone; except that it is hard enough to cut glass, and of course is susceptible of a fine polish; exhibiting a flat conchoïdal fracture, which is somewhat splintery. We could not discover a single fragment of porphyry; which is remarkable, as this substance was almost always used by the ancients in works of great magnificence. Among the loose fragments dispersed in the Acropolis, we found a small piece of marble with an inscription, but in so imperfect a state, that it is only worth notice as a memorial of the place where it was found, and in its allusion to the *Prytanéum*, which is the only legible part of it.† That the *Prytaneum*, where the written laws of Solon were kept,‡ was not situated near to the spot, but in the lower city, may be easily proved. Yet some have believed that it was in the Acropolis; owing to that remarkable passage in Pausanias, which sets at rest the mistaken opinion of Ptolemy's importation of the worship of Serapis into Egypt; Memphis having been the original source of this superstition, both for the Alexandrians and the Athenians.§ After speaking of the *Prytaneum*, Pausanias says,‖ "Hence, to those going toward *the lower parts of the city*, the Temple of Serapis presents itself; whose worship the Athenians received from Ptolemy:" adding, "Among the Egyptain fanes of this Deity, *the most renowned*, indeed, is that of Alexandria, but *the most ancient* that of Memphis." But, in answer to this, it may be observed, that the same author also *ascends* from the *Prytaneum* along the *street of*

* Specimens of this slate-like limestone were brought to the author for the Mineralogical Lecture at Cambridge, from the Temple of the Phigalian Apollo in the Morea by Mr. Walpole. It is also found upon Parnassus, and in other parts of Greece. Some of the limestone of Parnassus breaks with a conchoïdal fracture, and is hard enough to cut glass.

† Now in the Vestibule at Cambridge. See "Greek Marbles," No. XXX. p. 52. *Camb.* 1809.

‡ Πλησίον δὲ Πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνος εἰσι γεγραμμένοι. Pausaniæ, lib. i. c. 18. p. 41. *Lips.* 1696.

§ See Chap. VII. of this Section, p. 188, note (†,) vol. 3.

‖ Ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως, Σαράπιδος ἐστιν ἱερόν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο. Ἀιγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος, ἐπιφανέστατον μὲν ἐστιν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει. Pausaniæ, lib. i. c. 18. p. 42. *Lips.* 1696.

the Tripods, toward the *Propylæa*.* Moreover, it is recorded, that the tablets of the laws which had been preserved in the citadel were afterward removed to the *Prytaneum*;† and they were termed τὰς κάτωθεν νόμους, because they were kept in the lower city.

With regard to the *Erectheum*, which is situated at the distance of about a hundred and fifty feet to the north of the *Parthenon*, it has generally been described as consisting of three contiguous temples; that of *Erectheus*, of *Minerva Polias*, and of *Pandrosus*. Stuart considered the eastern part of the building alone as being the *Erectheum*; the part to the westward as that of *Minerva*; and the adjoining edifice on the south side, distinguished by the Caryatides supporting the entablature and roof, as the chapel which was dedicated to the nymph *Pandrosus*.‡ This opinion has been adopted by other writers:§ but it seems more consistent with the description and allusions to this building in the works of ancient authors, to suppose that the whole structure was called *Erectheum*, consisting only of two contiguous temples; that of *Minerva Polias*, with its portico toward the east; and that of *Pandrosus* toward the west, with its two porticoes standing by the north and south angles, the entrance to the *Pandroseum* being on the northern side.‖ Pausanias** calls the whole building ΕΡΕΧΘΕΙΟΝ, and he decidedly describes it, not as of a *triple*, but as of a *duple* form;†† and in the succeeding chapter he mentions the two parts of which it consisted, naming them the temples of *Pandrosus and Minerva*.‡‡ The sepulchral origin of the *Parthenon*, as of all the Athenian temples, has been already proved; and the same historian who has preserved a record of the situation of the *sepulchre of Cecrops* also informs us that the *tomb of*

* Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες. Pausan. lib. i. c. 20. p. 46. *Lips.* 1696.

† Jul. Pollux, lib. viii. c. 10. *Amst.* 1706.

‡ Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. chap. 2. p. 16. *Lond.* 1787.

§ "Near the Parthenon are *three* temples." (*Memorandum of the Earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece*, p. 23. *Lond.* 1811.) See also *Chandler's Trav. in Greece, chap.* 11. p. 52. *Oxf.* 1786, &c. &c.

‖ See a plan of these buildings by Mr. W. Wilkins, author of the Antiquities of Magna Græcia, &c. as engraved for Mr. Walpole's Selections from the MS. Journals of Travellers in the Levant.

** Ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον. Pausan. lib. i. c. 26. p. 62. *Lips.* 1696.

†† Καὶ διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἴκημα. Ibid.

‡‡ Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι. Ibid. c. 27. p. 64. *Lips.* 1696.

Erichthonius existed in the temple of Minerva Polias.* The Turks had made a powder-magazine of one of the vestibules of this building; so that it was necessary to creep through a hole in the wall in order to see the finest specimen of Ionic architecture now existing: it was an inner door of one of the temples; and it has been judiciously remarked† of the sculpture everywhere displayed in this edifice, that "it is difficult to conceive how marble has been wrought to such a depth, and brought to so sharp an edge, the different ornaments having all the delicacy of works in metal." Lusieri, for whom and for the other artists this passage had been opened, said, that he considered the workmanship of the frieze and cornice, and of the Ionic capitals, as the most admirable specimens of the art of sculpture in the world: he came daily to examine it, with additional gratification and wonder. He directed our attention to the extraordinary state of preservation in which the Caryatides of the *Pandroseum* still remained; passing the hand over the surface of the marble upon the necks of these statues, it seemed to retain its original polish in the highest perfection. Within this building, so late as the second century, was preserved the olive tree mentioned by Apollodorus,‡ which was said to be as old as the foundation of the citadel. Stuart supposed it to have stood in the portico of the temple of *Pandrosus*, (called by him the *Pandroseum*,) from the circumstance of the air necessary for its support, which could here be admitted between the Caryatides; but instances of trees that have been preserved unto a very great age, within the interior of an edifice enclosed by walls, may be adduced. The building was, of course, erected subsequently to the growth of the tree, and was in some degree adapted to its form. A very curious relic of this kind may be seen at Cawdor Castle, near Inverness, in Scotland; in which building a hawthorn tree of great antiquity is very remarkably preserved. Tradition relates, that the original proprietor of the edifice was directed by a dream to build a castle exactly upon the spot where the tree was found; and this was done

* Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, Κέκροπος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· τί δαὶ Ἐρικθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκόδευται. "Athenis autem in ipsâ pariter Acropoli, Cecropis, ut Antiochus Historiarum nono scriptum reliquit. Quid porrò Erichthonius? nonne in Poliadis templo sepultus est?" *Clementis Alexandrini Cohortatio ad Gentes*, tom. I. p. 39. *Oxon.* 1715.

† Memorandum, &c. p. 24. *Lond.* 1811.

‡ Vid. Pausan. lib. i. c. 27. p. 64. *Lips.* 1696.

in such a manner as to leave no doubt but that the tree existed long before the structure was erected. The trunk of this tree, with the knotty protuberances left by its branches, is still shown* in a vaulted apartment at the bottom of the principal tower: its roots branch out beneath the floor, and its top penetrates the vaulted arch of stone above, in such a manner that any person seeing it is convinced the masonry was adjusted to the shape and size of the plant, a space being left for its admission through the top of the vault. The *hawthorn tree* of Cawdor castle, and the traditionary superstition to which it has owed its preservation during a lapse of centuries, may serve as a parallel to the history of the *Athenian olive*, by exhibiting an example nearly similar; the one being considered as the *palladium* of an ancient Highland clan,† and the other regarded as the most sacred relic of the Cecropian citadel. Within the *Erecthéum* was the well of *salt* water, also shown as a mark of the contest for Attica between Neptune and Minerva.‡ This *well* is mentioned by Wheler,§ who could not obtain permission to see it: he was assured that it was "almost dry," when he visited the Acropolis: before Wheler arrived in Athens it had been seen and very curiously described by Guilletiere, whose account of the notions entertained concerning it by the inhabitants exactly corresponds with all that Pausanias had related of its ancient history.‖ The existence of the well, in such a remarkable situation, identifies the *Erecthéum* better than any proof derived from the present appearance of the building.

We dined with Signor Lusieri and the artists who were his fellow-labourers in the Acropolis, upon a boiled kid and some rice. Honey from mount Hymettus was served, of such extraordinary toughness and consistency, although

* The author saw it in 1797. The name of the building, as it is now pronounced, is not *Cawdor* but *Calder* castle.

† It had been a custom, from time immemorial, for guests in the castle to assemble around this tree, and drink "*Success to the hawthorn*," or, in other words, "*Prosperity to the house of Cawdor*." The first toast after dinner in a Welch mansion is, generally, "*The chief beam of the house*."

‡ Pausan. lib. i. c. 26. *Lips.* 1696.

§ Journey into Greece, p. 364. *Lond.* 1682.

‖ "Au sortir du temple nous vîmes, à cinquante pas de là, ce puys célébre, dont on a toujours parlé comme d'une des merveilles de la Nature; et adjourd'huy les Athéniens le content pour une des plus curieuses raretés de leur pays. Son eau est salée, et a la couleur de celle de la mer: toutes les fois que le vent du midy souffle, elle est agitée, et fait un grand bruit dans le fond du puys." *Voyage d'Athénes*, p. 298. *à Paris*, 1675.

quite transparent, that the dish containing it might be turned with its bottom upward without spilling a drop; and the surface of it might also be indented with the edge of a knife, yielding to the impression without separation, like a mass of dough. As an article of food, it is reckoned very heating; and persons who eat much of it are liable to fever. We tasted the wine of Athens, which is unpleasant to those who are not accustomed to it, from the quantity of resin and lime infused as substitutes for brandy. After dinner we examined the remains of the PROPYLÆA; concerning which we have little to add to the remarks already published. Over the entrance may be seen one of those enormous slabs of marble, called *marble beams* by Wheler;* and to which Pausanias particularly alluded, when, in describing the Propylæa, he said, that, even in his time, nothing surpassing the beauty of the workmanship, or the magnitude of the stones used in the building, had ever been seen.† We have since compared the dimensions of this slab with those of an architrave of much greater size, namely, that which covers the entrance to the great sepulchre at *Mycenæ;* for it is remarkable that Pausanias, who would have mentioned the fact if he had seen the latter, gives a very detailed account of the ruins of that city, and yet takes no notice of the most prodigious mass perhaps ever raised for any purpose of architecture, and which is nearly four times as large‡ as any of the stones that so much excited his admiration in viewing the Propylæa. This magnificent building, fronting the only entrance to the citadel, has also experienced some of the effects of the same ill judged rapacity which was levelled against the Parthenon. If the influence of a better spirit do not prevent a repetition of similar "*Pursuits in Greece*," Athens will sustain more damage in being visited by travellers, calling themselves *persons of taste*, than when

* Journey into Greece, Book V. p. 359. *Lond.* 1682.

† Τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει, καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προσῆκε. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 21. p. 51. *Lips.* 1696.

‡ The slab at *Mycenæ* is of granite, twenty seven feet long, seventeen feet wide, and above four feet and a half in thickness. That which remains at the *Propylæa* is of white marble, cut with the utmost precision and evenness: its length is seventeen feet nine inches. The former has quite an Ægyptian character: the latter bespeaks the finer art of a much later period in history. But the slab of marble at the *Propylæa* is not the largest even in Athens: an architrave belonging to the temple of Jupiter Olympius exceeds it in cubical dimensions: the length of this architrave equals twenty-two feet six inches; its width three feet; and its height six feet six inches. *See Stuart's Athens. Pref. to vol.* III. p. 9. *Lond.* 1794.

it was forgotten by the world, and entirely abandoned to its barbarian possessors: in a few years the traveller, even upon the spot, must be contented to glean his intelligence from the representation afforded by books of Travels, who is desirous to know what remained of the Fine Arts so lately as the time in which the city was visited by Wheler, by Chandler, or by Stuart. We afterward examined the remains of the original walls of the Acropolis; and observed some appearances in the work which had not at that time, as far as we were informed, been noticed by preceding travellers. They exhibit *three* distinct periods of construction; that is to say, the *masonry of modern times* in the repairs; a style of building which can only be referred to the *age of Cimon*, or of *Pericles;* and the ancient *Pelasgic* work, as mentioned by Lucian.* This was pointed out to us by Lusieri; but the circumstance which had escaped his notice, and which we afterwards ascertained, was, that a row of *triglyphs*, and intervening *metopes*, had been continued all round the upper part of the walls, immediately beneath the coping. Other travellers have since observed and mentioned this fact:† hence it is evident, from the circumference of the Acropolis being thus characterized by the symbols of sacred architecture, that the whole *peribolus* was considered as one vast and solemn sanctuary. We have an instance of the same kind of sanctuary in modern times, and in our own age. The *Kremlin* at Moscow, the Acropolis of a city whose inhabitants have preserved, with their religion, many a remnant of Grecian manners, is in like manner held sacred by the people; and no person is permitted to pass the "*Holy Gate*," leading to the interior, but with his head uncovered.‡

We then descended to visit the *Odéum of Regilla*, (the building we had passed in the morning,) at the foot of the rock of the Acropolis, and upon its south-western side. The remains of this edifice are those which Wheler and all former travellers, excepting Chandler, even to the time of Stuart, have described as the theatre of Bacchus. Chandler considered it as the *Odéum* of Pericles, rebuilt by Herodes Atticus. But Pausanias, speaking of the *Odéum* erected by

* Bis Accusatus, tom. VII. p. 60. *Bipont.* 1790.
† Memorandum, &c. p. 28. *Lond.* 1811.
‡ See Vol. I. of these Travels, chap. VII. p. 74.

Herodes in memory of his wife, mentions it as an original structure. It was, therefore, distinct both from the edifice erected by Pericles and from the theatre of Bacchus; so that, perhaps, no doubt will hereafter be entertained upon the subject, as far as this building is concerned.* All the remaining parts of this most costly theatre are, *first*, three rows of circular arches, one row above another, facing the southwest; and these now constitute an outwork of the fortress, but originally they belonged to the exterior face of the *Scene*. *Secondly*, the semicircular sweep or cavity within, for the seats of the spectators, at present almost choked with soil.† Nearly all that we know of the building is derived from an accidental allusion made to it by Pausanias, in his description of Achaia; for it was not erected, as he himself declares, when he had finished his account of Attica.‡ It was raised by Herodes, in memory of his wife, and considered as far surpassing in magnitude, and in the costliness of its materials, every other edifice of the kind in all Greece.§ The roof of it was of cedar. The cavity for the seats was scooped in the solid rock of the citadel; a practice so ancient, that from this circumstance alone a person might be induced to believe, with Chandler, some more ancient theatre existed upon the spot before Herodes added any thing to

* The *Odéum* of Pericles was on the *southeast side*, and, according to Vitruvius, upon the *left* of those who came out of the theatre of Bacchus: "*Exeuntibus a theatro sinistrâ parte*, ODEUM, *quod Athenis Pericles columnis lapideis disposuit.*" (Vitruv. lib. v. c. 9.) It is this circumstance alone which has caused the *Odéum of Herodes* to be confounded with that theatre; but the monument alluded to by Vitrivius was at the end of the *Street of the Tripods;* and between that street and the *Theatre of Bacchus*. There were three different monuments which had received the name of *Odéum:* one at the *southeast angle* of the citadel, which was the *Odéum* of Pericles; another at the *southwest angle*, which was the *Odéum* of Herodes Atticus. The *Odéum* mentioned by Pausanias is again considered as *a third:* the Abbé Barthelemy believed the *Pnyx* to have been called *Odéum* by Pausanias. The subject is indeed somewhat embarrassed: and the reader who wishes to see it more fully illustrated, may consult the notes to the 12th chapter of the "Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis," tom. II. p. 542. *sur le Plan d'Athénes*, (*à Paris*, 1790;) and the authorities cited by its author.

† There is a fine view of the interior published in the second volume of Stuart's Athens, ch. iii. pl. 1. which affords one of the most interesting views of the Acropolis; showing the situation of the *Propylæa*, the *Parthenon*, and to the right of the theatre of Herodes, the site of the *long Porticoes* surmounted by the *two Choragic Pillars* near to the Theatre of Bacchus, the columns of Hadrian's *Temple of Olympian Jove*, and a distant view of the ridge of *Hymettus*.

‡ Pausaniæ Achaica, c. 20. p. 574. *Lips.* 1696.

§ Τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερβάλλει κατασκευήν. Pausaniæ Achaica, c. 20. p. 574. *Lips.* 1696.

the work. The first thing that strikes a modern traveller, in viewing the Grecian theatres, is the shallowness of the *Proscenion*, or place for the stage. It is hardly possible to conceive how, either by the aid of painting, or by scenic decoration, any tolerable appearance of distance or depth of view could be imitated. The actors must have appeared like our modern mountebanks upon a wagon, as to any effect of scenic deception. But so little is known of the plan of an ancient theatre, particularly of the *Proscenion*, and the manner in which the dramas were represented, that the most perfect remains which we have of such structures leave us still in the dark as to the parts necessary to compose the entire building. There is no traveller who has better compressed what ancient and modern writers have said upon the subject, or in a more perspicuous manner, than *Guilletiere*; who piqued himself upon the value of his observations,* although no one since has ever noticed them. It is observed by him,† that among all the subjects of which ancient authors have treated, that of the construction of their theatres is the most obscure, the most mutilated, and delivered with the most contradiction. Vitruvius, says he, conducts his readers only half way :‡ he gives neither the dimensions, nor the situation, nor the number of the principal parts; believing them to be sufficiently well known, and never once dreaming that they were likely to perish. For example, he does not determine the quantity of the *Diazomata*, or *Præcinctiones*, which we call *corridors*, *retreats*, or *landing-places:* and even in things which he does specify, he lays down rules which we actually find were never attended to; as when he tells of two distinct elevations observed in the construction of their rows of benches, and neither the one nor the other accords with any thing now remaining of the ancient theatres. Among the modern writers, the Jesuit *Gallutus Sabienus*, and the learned *Scaliger*, have neglected the most essential parts: and the confused mass of citations collected by *Bulengerus* intimidates any one who is desirous to set them in a clear light: after being at the pains to examine his authorities, and glean whatever intelligence may be

* "Je vous avouë franchement que c'est icy que je prétens bien vous faire valoir la peine de mes voyages, et le fruit de mes observations." *Voyage d'Athénes*, p. 306. *à Paris*, 1675.

† *Voyage d'Athénes*, p. 306. *à Paris*, 1675.

‡ . . . "à moitié chemin." *Ibid.*

derived from *Athenæus*, *Hesychius*, *Julius Pollux*, *Eustathius*, *Suidas*, and others, our knowledge is still very imperfect. The Greek theatres were in general open; but the *Odéum* of *Regilla* was magnificently covered, as has been stated, with a roof of cedar. The Odéum of Pericles, or Music theatre, was also covered; for, according to Plutarch, it was the high pointed and tent-like shape of its roof, which gave occasion to the comic poet *Cratinus* to level some ingenious raillery at Pericles, who had the care of it.* In their open theatres, the Greeks being exposed to the injuries of weather, commonly made their appearance in large cloaks; they also made use of the *sciadion*, answering to our *umbrella*, as a screen from the sun. The plays were performed always by day light. When a storm arose, the theatre was deserted, and the audience dispersed themselves in the outer galleries and adjoining porticoes.† During their most magnificent spectacles odoriferous liquors were showered upon the heads of the people; and the custom of scattering similar offerings upon the heads of the people was often practised at Venice during the carnival.

By the word *Theatre* the ancients intended the whole body of the edifice where the people assembled to see their public representations. The parts designed for the spectators were called the *Conistra*, or pit; the rows of benches; the *Diazomata*, or corridors; the little stairs; the *Cercys;* and the *Echæa*. The other principal parts of the theatre, belonging to the actors, were called the *Orchestra;* the *Proscenion;* and the *Scene*, that is to say, the front or face of the decorations; for, properly, the word *Scene* has no other signification. The interior structure extended like the arc of a circle, reaching to the two corners of the *Proscenion:* above that portion of the circumference were raised four-and-twenty rows of benches, surrounding the *Conistra*, or pit, for the spectators. These benches, in their whole height, were divided into three sets by the *Diazomata* or corridors, consisting of eight rows in each division. The *Diazomata* ran parallel to the rows of seats, and were of the same form;

* Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται
Περικλέης, τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
Ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοὐστρακον παροίκηται.
Vid. Plut. in Pericl. tom. I. p. 353. *Lond.* 1723.

† Vitruv. lib. v. cap. 9. p. 92.

they were contrived as passages for the spectators from one part of the theatre to another, without incommoding those who were seated; for the same convenience, there were little steps* that crossed the several rows, and reached from one corridor to another, from the top to the bottom, so that persons might ascend or descend without incommoding the audience. Near to those staircases were passages leading to the outer porticoes, by which the spectators entered to take their places. The best places were in the middle tier, upon the eight rows between the eighth and the seventeenth bench. This part of the theatre was called *Bouleuticon;* it was set apart for the magistrates. The other tiers were called *Ephebicon*, and were appropriated to the citizens after they had attained their eighteenth year. Along each corridor, at convenient distances, in the solid part of the structure, small cellular cavities, called *Echœa*, containing brass vessels, open toward the *Scene.* Above the upper corridor there was a gallery or portico, called *Cercys*, for the women; but those who had led disorderly lives had a place apart for their reception. Strangers and allies who had the freedom of the city were also placed in the *Cercys.* Individuals had also, sometimes, a property in particular places; which descended by succession to the eldest of the family.

Thus much for the parts appropriated to the spectators. With regard to others belonging to the Drama, the *Orchestra* (an elevation out of the *Conistra* or pit) began about fifty-four feet from the face of the *Proscenion* or stage, and ended at the *Proscenion.* Its height was about four feet; its shape an oblong parallelogram, detached from the seats of the spectators: here were stationed the musicians, the choir, and the mimics. Among the Romans it was destined for a more noble use; the emperor, the senate, the vestals, and other persons of quality, having their seats upon it. The *Proscenion* or stage was raised seven feet above the *Orchestra*, and eleven above the *Conistra!* and upon it stood an altar dedicated to Apollo. The part called the *Scene* was nothing else than the columns, and architectural decorations, raised from the foundations, and upon the wings of the *Pro-*

* Each of those little steps was exactly half the height of one of the benches. They formed diverging radii from the *Conistra.* Such staircases remain very entire in the theatres of Asia Minor, as at Telmessus; in Epidauria; at Sicyon; Chæronæa; &c.

scenion, merely for ornament. When there were three rows of pillars one above another, the highest row was called *Episcenion*. Agatarchus was the first architect who decorated the *Scene* according to the rules of perspective; he received his instructions from Æschylus.* The theatres of Greece and Asia Minor were not solely appropriated to plays and shows: sometimes they were used for state assemblies; and occasionally as schools, in which the most eminent philosophers harangued their scholars. St. Paul was desirous to go into the theatre at Ephesus, to address the people, during the uproar caused by Demetrius the silversmith;† but was entreated by his disciples not to present himself there, through fear that he would encounter the violence which Gaius and Aristarchus had already experienced.‡

From the *Odéum of Regilla* we went to the AREOPAGUS; wishing to place our feet upon a spot where it is so decidedly known that St. Paul had himself stood; and to view with our eyes the same scene which he beheld, when he declared unto the Athenians§ the nature of THE UNKNOWN GOD whom they so ignorantly worshipped, and opposed the new doctrine of "Christ crucified" to the spirit and genius of the Gentile faith. They had brought him to the court of the Areopagites, to explain the nature of the rash enterprise in which he was engaged; and to account for the unexampled temerity of an appeal which called upon them to renounce their idols; to abolish their most holy rites, and to forsake their Pantheon for one only God "who dwelleth not in temples made with hands,"—the God of the Hebrews too, a people hated and despised by all. It does not seem possible for the mind to conceive a situation of greater peril, or one of severer trial to the sincerity of a preacher, than that in

* Beside the parts of a Greek theatre here enumerated, *Guilletiere* mentioned the *Logeion*, or *Thymelé*, which the Romans called *Pulpitum*; and the *Hyposcenion*; both which were parts of the *Orchestra*. Also the *Parascenion*, or space before and behind the *Scene*; and a species of machinery for introducing the gods, which was called *Theologeion*.

† Acts xix. 30, 31.

‡ This brief survey of the form of an ancient Greek theatre, and of its various parts, will be found useful to travellers during their examination of the remains of such structures. Those who wish to see the subject more fully discussed, may consult Guilletiere, from whose researches, added to his personal observations, it has been, with very little alteration, derived. The author, having already proved its accuracy, by comparing it with the notes he made among the ruins of the Grecian theatres, and finding that it had been unaccountably overlooked, conceived it might make a useful addition to his work.

§ Acts. xvii. 22.

which he was then placed: and the truth of this, perhaps, will never be better felt, than by a spectator who, from this eminence, actually beholds the stately monuments of Pagan pomp and superstition by which he, whom the Athenians considered as "the setter-forth of strange Gods," was at that time surrounded; representing to the imagination, at the same time, the disciples of Socrates and of Plato, the Dogmatist of the Porch, and the Sceptic of the Academy, addressed by a poor and lowly man, whose plain unvarnished precepts contained nothing but what was contrary to their taste, and very hostile to their prejudices. One of the peculiar privileges of the *Areopogitæ* seems to have been set at defiance by the zeal of the Apostle upon this occasion; namely, that of inflicting extreme and exemplary punishment upon any person who should slight the celebration of the holy mysteries, or blaspheme the gods of Greece. We ascended to the top, by means of steps cut within the natural stone, which is of *breccia*. The sublime scene here exhibited is so striking, that a brief description of it may prove how truly it offers to us a commentary upon St. Paul's words, as they were delivered upon the spot. He stood upon the open summit of the rock, beneath the canopy of heaven.* Before him there was spread a glorious prospect of mountains, islands, seas, and skies; behind him towered the lofty *Acropolis*, crowned with all its marble temples. Thus every object, whether in the face of nature, or among the works of art, conspired to elevate the mind, and to fill it with reverence toward that BEING "who made and governs the world;"† who sitteth in that light which no mortal eye can approach, and yet is nigh unto the meanest of his creatures; "in whom we live, and move, and have our being."

Within the *Peribolus* of the Areopagus was the *monument* of *Œdipus*, whose bones, according to Pausanias,‡ were

* The Senate of the *Areopagus* assembled sometimes in the royal Portico; (*vid. Demosth. in Aristog. p.* 831.) but its most ordinary place of meeting was on an eminence at a small distance from the citadel, (*Herodot.* lib. viii. c. 52.) called Ἄρειος πάγος. Here a space was levelled for this court by planing the summit of the rock; and the steps which conducted to it were similarly carved out of the solid stone. In this respect it somewhat resembled *Pnyx*. The origin of the court may be traced back to the time of Cecrops: (*Marmor. Oxon. Epoch.* 3.) The *Areopagus* had no roof; but it was occasionally defended from the weather by a temporary shed. (*Jul. Poll.* lib. viii. c. 10. *Vitruv.* lib. ii. c. 1.)

† Acts xvii. 24, 28.

‡ Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνῆμα Οἰδίποδος. Πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ, εὕρισκον τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐν Θηβῶν κομισθέντα. Pausan. lib. i. c. 28. p. 69. *Lips.* 1696.

brought hither from Thebes: and the actual site of *the altar* mentioned by the same author may still be seen in the rock. It is scarcely necessary to repeat the history of a place so well known and so long renowned for the impartial judgment which was here administered.* We turned from it toward the temple of Theseus, which exists almost as perfect as when it was at first finished: having gratified our curiosity by a hasty survey of the outside of this building—which, although not of so much magnitude as the Parthenon, ranks next to it in every circumstance of chaste desiga and harmonious proportion—we entered the modern city by a gate near to the temple, and were conducted to the comfortable dwelling assigned for our abode, by Lusieri, during the remainder of our residence in Athens.

* Every thing the reader may wish to see concentrated upon this subject, may be found in the *Thesaurus Græcarum Antiquitatum* of *Gronovius;* and particularly in the *Areopagus Meursii*, as edited by him. (*Vid. Volum. Quint.* p. 2071. *L. Bat.* 1699.) That the hill of the *Areopagus* was a continuation of the western slope of the Acropolis, seems manifest from the following allusion made to it by Lucian:—Μόνον ἀπίωμεν ἐπ' Ἄρειον πάγον, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς την Ἀκρόπολιν αὐτὴν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς περιωπῆς ἅμα καταφανεῖν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει. "Tantùm ad Areopagum abeamus, seu potiùs in ipsam Arcem; ut tanquam è speculâ, simul omnia, quæ in urbe, conspiciantur." *Vid. Lucian, in Piscatore, ap. Meurs. Areop.* c. 1. *Edit. Gronovii.*

CHAP. XIII.

ATHENS.

Temple of the Winds—*Unknown Structure of the Corinthian Order—The* Bazar—*Population and Trade of Athens—State of the Arts—Manufacture of Pictures—Monochrome Painting of the Ancients—Terra Cottas—Origin of Painting and Pottery among the Greeks—Medals and Gems—Explanation of the* Amphora *as a symbol upon Athenian Coins*—Ptolemæum—*Ancient Marbles*—Theséum—*Grave of* TWEDDELL. *Description of the Temple*—Areopagus—*Piræean Gate*—Pnyx—*Monument on the* Muséum—*Ancient Walls*—Theatre and Cave of Bacchus—*Monument of* Thrasyllus—*Choragic Pillars—Remarkable Inscription—Origin of the Crypt—Ice Plant in its native state*—Arch of Hadrian—*its origin—when erected*—Temple of Jupiter Olympius—*Discordant accounts of this building—reasons for the name assigned to it*—Ilissus—*Fountain* Callirhoë—*False notions entertained of the river*—Stadium Panathenaicum—*Sepulchre of Herodes—Hadrian's Reservoir*—Mount Anchesmus—*View from the summit.*

THE next morning, October the thirtieth, we received a visit from the English consul, *Signor Spiridion Logotheti*, who accompanied us to the waiwode, or Turkish governor. This ceremony being over, Lusieri conducted us to see the famous marble tower of the winds, at a short distance from the *bazar*. This octagonal building is known to be the same which Vitruvius mentions, but it is entirely unnoticed by Pausanias. The soil has been raised all around the tower, and in some places it has accumulated to the height of fifteen feet; owing to this circumstance, the spectator is placed too near to the figures sculptured in relief upon the sides of the edifice; for these appear to be clumsy statues, out of all proportion to the building. Lusieri believed that it had been the original design of the architect to raise those figures to a greater elevation than that in which they were viewed even before the accumulation of the soil. Stuart has been so diffuse in the description of the building, and every thing relating to it, that he has left nothing to be added by other

travellers.* It seems the christians once made use of it as a church; and their establishment has been succeeded by that of a college of dervishes, who here exhibit their peculiar dance. Probably it was one of the sacred structures of the ancient city; and, as a place of religious worship, answered to other purposes than that of merely indicating the direction of the winds, the seasons, and the hours. The author of *Archæologia Græca* seems to have entertained this opinion, by calling it, after Wheler, the *temple* of the eight winds.†

We then went on the *bazar*, and inspected the market. The shops are situated on the two sides of a street lying to the north of the Acropolis, which is close and parallel to the wall and columns of a magnificent building of the Corinthian order. The entablature, capitals, and parts of the shafts of these columns, may be viewed from the street; but the market is, for the most part, covered by trellis work and vines. So little is known concerning the history of this building, that it were vain to attempt giving an account of it. Spon,‡ Wheler,§ and Le Roy,‖ call it the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*. The temples of Jupiter were, generally, not like this building, of the *Corinthian*, but of the *Doric* order; the same objection, however, applies to the received opinion concerning those *columns of Hadrian* near the Ilissus, which are now believed to have belonged to that temple. Stuart considered this Corinthian structure near the *bazar* as the STOA, or *portico*, which was called *Poikile*,** or *Pœcile*. A fine view of the *bazar*, and also of the building, is given in Le Roy's work.†† It is highly probable that the *bazar* is situated upon the ancient market of the inner CERAMICUS, and near to the site of the greater AGORA, from the circumstance of the inscription mentioned by Spon and by Wheler, containing a decree of the emperor Hadrian relating to the sale of oil, which was found upon the spot.‡‡ And if this

* Antiquities of Athens, vol. III. c. 3. *Lond.* 1762.

† Archæol. Græc. vol. I. c. 3. p. 35. *Lond.* 1751.

‡ Voyage de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675, et 1676, tom. II. p. 107. *à La Haye*, 1724.

§ Journey into Greece, p. 391. *Lond.* 1682.

‖ Ruines des Monumens de la Grèce, p. 19. *Paris*, 1758.

** See Stuart's Athens, vol. I. c. 5. *Lond.* 1762. Also vol. III. Plan of the Antiquities. *Lond.* 1794.

†† See Plate X. Ruines, &c. *Paris*, 1758.

‡‡ See Spon, as above, p. 106. Wheler, p. 389. Κίλευσμα νομμὸν Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

be true, the Corinthian edifice may be either the old *Forum* of the *inner Ceramicus*, called ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΑΓΟΡΑ, where the public assemblies of the people were held, which is the most probable conjecture as to its origin, or the remains of the temple of *Vulcan*, or of *Venus Urania;* for the *Doric portico*, which Stuart believed to have belonged to the *Agora*,* is exactly in a line with the front of this building; and its situation corresponds with that of the portico called *Basiléum* by Pausanias, beyond which the temple of Vulcan stood.† The measures for dry things, in the *bazar*, were fashioned in the ancient style, and of the materials formerly used, being made of white marble; but their capacity has been adapted to modern customs: instead of the *medimnus*, the *chœnix*, and the *xestes*, we found them to contain two *quintals*, one *quintal*, and the half *quintal*. The population of Athens amounts to fifteen thousand, including women and children. The principal exports are honey and oil: of the latter they send away about five vessels freighted annually. Small craft, from different parts of the Archipelago, occasionally visit the *Piræeus* and the neighbouring coast, for wood. The shops maintain an insignificant traffick in furs and cloth. The best blue cloth in Athens was of bad German manufacture, selling under the name of English. Indeed, in almost all the towns of Europe, when any thing is offered for sale of better manufacture than usual, it is either *English*, or said to be *English*,‡ in order to enhance its price.

The silversmiths were occupied in making coarse rings for the Albanian women; and the poor remains of Grecian painters in fabricating, rather than in delineating, pictures of saints and virgins. Their mode of doing this may serve to show how exactly the image of any set of features, or the subject

* Antiquities of Athens, vol. I. c. I. p. 3. *Lond.* 1762.

† Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασίλειον, ναός ἐστιν Ἡφαίστου· . . . . . πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 14. p. 36. *Lips.* 1696.

‡ For the most accurate information respecting the commerce of Greece, in all its parts, the reader is referred to the publication of Mons. Beaujour. (*Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce, par Felix Beaujour, Ex-Consul en Grèce. Paris*, 1800.) Upon the subject of "*La draperie Anglaise*," these imitations of English cloth are mentioned as having the preference over the original manufacture. "Depuis cette époque (1731) le crédit de la draperie Anglaise a toujours baissé. On a vu sur cette place le débit des *Londres* diminuer progressivement par la concurrence de nos *londrins*, faits à leur imitation. Les *londres* sont des draps légers et grossiers, ainsi nommés, parce que les premiers fabriques furent établiés à Londres. L'assortiment était d'abord invariablement un tiers vert, un tiers bleu, et un tiers garance. On demande aujourd'hui des assortimens composés tout de bleu." *Tableau du Comm.* tom. II. p. 8.

of any representation, may be preserved unaltered, among different artists, for many ages. The prototype is always kept by them, and transmitted with great care from father to son: (for in Greece, as in China, the professions are often hereditary, and remain in the same family for a number of generations:) it consists of a piece of paper upon which the outline and all the different parts of the design, even to the minutest circumstance, have been marked by a number of small holes pricked with the point of a pin or a needle. This pattern is laid on any surface prepared for painting, and rubbed over with finely-powdered charcoal: the dust falling through the holes leaves a dotted outline for the painter, who then proceeds to apply the colours much after the same manner, by a series of other papers having the places cut out where any particular colour is to be applied. Very little skill is requisite in the finishing; for, in fact, one of these manufacturers of effigies might with just as much ease give a rule to make a picture, as a tailor to cut out a suit of clothes: the only essential requisite is a good set of patterns, and these are handed from father to son. Hence we learn the cause of that remarkable stiffness and angular outline which characterize all the pictures in the Greek churches: the practice is very ancient; and although the works of some Greek painters, which yet remain, enable us to prove that there were artists capable of designing and drawing in a more masterly manner, yet it is highly probable that the pictures of the ancients were often of this description. Whoever attentively examines the paintings upon *terra cotta* vases, executed in the style called *Monochromaton*,* will be convinced that such a process was used, only with this difference: the parts of the picture were either left bare, being covered by the pattern, and the whole surface of the vessel which remained exposed was coated with black paint; or, cavities being cut out for the figures, were filled with the black or white colour, and the rest of the vase possessed the natural hue of the clay after being baked. The latter process was the more ancient; and vases of this description are decorated with black, or very rarely with white, figures and ornaments upon a red ground. The fact is, that the white colour has been gradually decomposed, and nothing remains

* "Secundum singulis coloribus, et *monochromaton* dictam, postquam operosior inventa erat." *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. c. 3. tom. III. p. 417. *L. Bat.* 1635.

but the ground upon which it was laid. After a vase has been discovered in an ancient sepulchre, the white colour is so fugitive that it is sometimes carried off by the mere process of washing the vessel in common water, and it never resists the acids which are used for that purpose. The persons who deal in these antiquities, at Naples and in other parts of Italy, very commonly retouch and restore their vases, adding a little white paint where the white colour has disappeared. The *monochrome* paintings of the ancients sometimes consisted of *white* colour upon a red or black ground: this style of painting was expressed by the word λευκογράφειν.* The most beautiful of the *monochrome* paintings are those which were executed upon earthen vases when the arts were considerably advanced; these exhibit red figures upon a black ground; the beautiful red colour is owing solely to the fine quality of the clay; the effect was afterward heightened by the addition of an outline, at first rudely scratched with the point of a sharp instrument, but in the best ages of the arts carefully delineated; and often tinted with other colours, in so masterly a style, that it has been said Raphael, under similar circumstances, could not have produced any thing superior either in beauty or correctness.† But the vases which are characterized by such perfection of the art, rarely exhibit paintings of equal interest with those fabricated at an earlier epocha. The designs upon the latter generally serve to record historical events; or they represent the employments of man in the earliest ages: either when engaged in destroying the ferocious animals which infested his native woods, or in procuring by the chace the means of his subsistence.‡ The representations upon the former relate only

* (*Arist. Poet.* c. 6. See also *Winkelmann, Hist. de l'Art*, tom. II. p. 144. *Paris, An.* 2.) Sometimes a *red* colour was singly applied upon white marble; in which style of painting four pictures were found in Herculaneum: and, lastly, there were *monochrome* paintings with a *black* colour upon a red ground; as upon the terra cotta vases.

† See the observations of D'Hancarville, Italinski, sir W. Hamilton, &c. &c.

‡ *Monochrome* paintings upon ivory have been found where it might be least expected that any thing resembling the arts of Etruria or Greece would be discovered; namely, among the Aleoutan Isles, between North America and Kamschatka. The author had in his possession an ivory bow, brought thence by commodore Billings; on which the natives were represented as engaged in fishing, &c.; the figures, delineated in a black colour, perfectly resembled the paintings on the oldest *terra cotta* vases.

to the ceremonies of the bath and of the toilet; or to the dances, and the games, as they were celebrated at the Grecian festivals. The subject of Grecian painting has insensibly led to that of the *terra cotta* vases, because these have preserved for us the most genuine specimens of the art, as it existed in the remotest period of its history; and we now see that the method employed by the earliest Grecian artists in their *monochrome* painting is still used by Athenian workmen in the manufacture of their idol pictures. The silver shrines with which such pictures are covered, especially in Russia, having holes cut in them to show the faces and hands of their saints and virgins, exhibit exactly the sort of superficies used upon these occasions for laying on the parts of the painting; and it is very probable that the Russian painters, who manufacture these images for sale, received from the Greeks, with their religion, this method of preparing them. A curious piece of chicanery is practised by the Russian dealers in this species of holy craft. The silver shrine is supposed to serve as a mere case to enclose the sacred picture; leaving only the small apertures before mentioned, for their *Boghs*, or *Gods*, to peep through: but as the part beneath the silver superficies is not seen, they spare themselves the trouble of painting any thing except the *face* and *hands* of the image; so that if the case by any accident fall off, the bare wood is disclosed, instead of the rest of the picture. But to return to the art of painting among the ancient Greeks: If we except the pictures found in Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia, and the few faint vestiges upon marble statues, we may despair of seeing any thing so perfect as those specimens which are preserved upon *terra cotta;* whether upon *facings* intended for architecture,* or upon vases found in Grecian sepulchres. It is evident that these pictures are purely Grecian, because Greek inscriptions so often accompany them; but it seems equally evident that the Greeks were indebted for the art to the Etruscans. The art of making earthenware was transported from Etruria into Greece. The Romans also borrowed this invention from the Etruscans; to whom Greece was indebted for many of its ceremonies and religious insti-

* Painted *terra-cotta* was sometimes used in Grecian buildings, for the frieze and other ornaments: of this an example will be given in a subsequent description of ruins in *Epidauria.*

tutions,* and for its mechanics and artificers.† According to *Heraclides Ponticus*, the inhabitants of Etruria were distinguished in all the arts and sciences;‡ and before the foundation of Rome the art of painting had attained a high degree of perfection in that country, for Pliny mentions pictures at *Ardea* which were older than the birth of Romulus.§ This alone is sufficient to show, that, in the eighth century before the Christian era, and above a hundred years before the age of Solon, consequently before the arts obtained any footing in Greece, the same people who taught the Greeks the art of making earthenware were also well acquainted with the art of painting. In addition, it may be urged that the cities of *Nola* and *Capua* were founded and built by the Etruscans;‖ and it is remarkable that the vases of *Nola* are peculiar for elegance of design and excellence of workmanship.**

Among the few articles of Athenian cutlery to be met with in the market, we found some small knives and forks, with white bone handles, inscribed with mottoes in modern Greek, characteristic of the manners and sentiments of the people; such, for example, as the following: Ῥίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία, "*The love of money is the root of all evil.*" Μηδένα καταφρονεῖν, "*You should despise no one.*" For the rest, nothing can be more wretchedly supplied than Athens with the most common articles of use or convenience. The artists employed for the British ambassador were under the necessity of sending to Smyrna to obtain a wheeled cart for moving the marbles to the *Piræeus*, and for all the materials and implements wanted in preparing cases to contain them. No ladders could be found, nor any instruments proper for making them. It was not possible to procure

* Plato de Leg. lib. v.

† Pherecrates ap. Athen. Diepos. lib. x.

‡ In Fragment. ad Calc. Ælian.

§ "Extant certè hodièque antiquiores urbe picturæ Ardeæ in ædibus sacris, quibus equidem nullas æque demiror tam longo ævo durantes in orbitate tecti, veluti recenter." *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxv. tom. III. p. 419. *L. Bat.* 1635.

‖ Cato ap. Vel. Paterc. lib. i. c. 7.

** The author has not seen a Dissertation by the *Abbè Lanzi*, which is cited in a work published by the Society of *Dilettanti* (entitled "*Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*," *Lond.* 1809.) as containing proof that the Etruscans "followed the improvements of the Greeks at a respectful distance, and had no pretensions to that venerable antiquity in the arts which has been assigned to them."

the most ordinary domestic utensils, nor a single article of curriery.*

Specimens of ancient art are less rare. A goldsmith sold to us some beautiful gold medals, of Alexander and of Philip, for double their weight in Venetian sequins. He had several gems of great beauty in his possession, but he estimated them as if he intended to make his fortune by the sale of them. Some of these are perhaps now in England. One of them was a small red and white sardonyx caméo; the subject, Jupiter, in his war with the giants, hurling the thunder; the god being represented in a car, with four horses: the workmanship of this caméo was exceedingly fine.† The author also obtained here, for forty piastres, the fine silver tetradrachm of *Lysimachus*, exhibiting the portrait of Alexander the Great, which he caused to be engraved for a dissertation upon the *Soros* brought from *Alexander's tomb;* and he afterwards procured, from an Albanian family, a silver medal of Athens, of equal size, and almost equal beauty. The well-known symbol of the *void Amphora*, lying horizontally upon the reverses of Athenian medals, has never received any satisfactory illustration. It is accompanied by *an owl*, and the bird is represented sitting upon the vessel. The mythological principle implied by the *one* may therefore be supposed to have an allusion also in the *other;* and that this is true, and that the principle so expressed was *passive* as to its nature, may be clearly shown by reference to a few facts. The *owl* was the symbol of *Pallas*, because it denoted the *privation* or the absence of *light;* and the author has proved, upon a former occasion,† that *Pallas*, or the whole body of

* A couple of old Turkish saddles, which had belonged to the late Mr. Tweddell, were first recommended and afterwards sold to us by Spiridion Logotheti, the English Consul, at an enormous price, as his own property; *possession* in Athens, as *elsewhere*, with regard to Mr. Tweddell's effects, being considered equal to "*nine points of the law.*" He knew very well that our future travels in Greece depended, in a great measure, upon this acquisition, and he took care to profit by the occasion. All subsequent travellers have noticed his rapacity. When Stuart was in Athens, he met with similar treatment from our Consul: and as long as these situations are held by Greeks, Englishmen who visit the country will be liable to their exactions. Hardly a day passed without a demand from this man for money, under some pretext or other. This note is therefore inserted, as a caution to the number of our countrymen now visiting Greece; that they may have as little intercourse as possible with Greeks calling themselves English Consuls, or really acting in that capacity.

† The same subject is represented, but with the addition of the Giants and their serpent legs, precisely after the same manner, by the fine antique engraved in the Paris edition of Winkelmann's works. *Voy. Œuvres complètes de Winkelmann*, tom. II. lib. iv. c. 8. p. 115. *Paris, An* 2.

‡ See "Greek Marbles," p. 30. also Append. p. 72.

female divinities whom this goddess was supposed to personify, or *night*, or *silence*, or *death*, or any other sign of *privation*, was but a type of the *passive principle:* consequently, the *void amphora*, or the *Gorgonian head*, (which Pallas bore upon her ægis, and which also often appears with the *amphora* upon the medals of Athens,) or the *owl*, or the mythological principle denoted by any one of these, was an allusion to the *sleep of nature*, and must have been considered as the *memento mori* of the Pagan world. For a decisive proof of this, it may be urged, that the form of the *amphora* itself was sometimes given to the *Stélé*, as a sepulchral monument.* A tomb was opened in the south of Russia, containing on either side of it a void *amphora* leaning against the *Soros*.† Sometimes the ancients represented a *winged Sphinx* as sitting upon an empty *amphora*;‡ and the *Sphinx*, as it is well known, is one of the *sepulchral monuments* in the great cemetery of *Memphis*. The same vessel was made an accompaniment of *Charon* and *Hermes* when conducting to *Hades* the souls of the dead, as they are represented upon the gems of Greece.§

Proceeding through the inhabited part of the city, toward the north-west, a little beyond the *Corinthian structure* to which we have so lately alluded, we came to an extensive ruin, encumbered with modern buildings, which Stuart, from the imperfect survey he was able to make of it, considered as the GYMNASIUM OF PTOLEMY.‖ Its vicinity to the temple of Theseus renders this highly probable. Stuart indeed speaks of its *plan;* but he has not given it. Concealed as it is by dwellings, and greatly dilapidated, we have not even attempted to supply what that able architect and inquisitive traveller did not feel himself authorized, from the state of the ruin, to communicate.

As we passed through the town, there was hardly a house

* A marble amphora of this description is in the collection of Greek marbles at Cambridge: it was found upon the shore of the *Propontis;* and presented by Spencer Smith, esq. late minister plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, brother of sir Sidney Smith.

† The place is called *Ovidiopol* by the Russians. There is an engraved representation of the interior of the tomb in Pallas's travels through the South of Russia, vol. II. p. 244.

‡ Voy. Recherches sur l'Origin des arts, &c.

§ The author has, in his possession a *scarabæan gem*, on which Mercury is represented in the act of offering the cake of flour and honey to appease Cerberus. *Vid. Aristoph. in Lysist.* v. 601. *Schol. ib. Id. in Eccles.* v. 354.

‖ See vol. III. p. 3. *Antiq. of Athens, Lond.* 1794.

that had not some little marble fragment of ancient sculpture stuck in its front, over the door; and since most of the houses have court-yards, where the objects within are concealed from the observation of passengers in the streets, many valuable antiquities will be brought to light as Athens becomes more visited. The few articles which we collected, during our residence here, may be considered as promising indications of future acquisitions of the same nature. In the yard belonging to the house where we resided, there were two *bas-reliefs;* and although the workmanship in each of them is not characterized by the masterly style and execution which distinguishes the sculpture in the Acropolis, yet it is easy to perceive that they have been touched by the hand of an Athenian artist. They were both given to us by our hostess the first day after our arrival; and they are now in the University Library at Cambridge. One of them represents the initiation of Hercules by a priestess of Ceres;* and it is singular that the figure of Hercules is draped. The other exhibits a female figure, seated, to whom a male is presenting a new-born infant. The Grecians were accustomed to consign their newly-born children to the tutelar care of some deity, upon the fifth day after their birth: upon this occasion they went in white robes, with their feet bare. But the figure in this *bas-relief* carrying the child may allude to a circumstance which occurred in the life of Caligula, who placed his infant daughter, *Livia Drusilla*, in the lap of the *protecting Minerva.* The sculpture is remarkable for the ease and freedom which it displays. It is a very uncommon circumstance to have these things pointed out by a Turk: but we had this good luck; for passing the door of a Turkish house, its owner hailed us with the usual appellation,—"*Djowrs! here is some rubbish suited to your taste: take it off my premises!*" He had found in his garden, among some old foundations, the half of a marble bas-relief, which represented the annual procession of Athenian citizens, with their youth, to the ceremony of initiation at Eleusis; and for a trifle he allowed us to remove it, seeming to be quite happy in getting rid of a stone on which human figures were delineated. We saw also, in one of the streets, an ancient marble

* This ceremony is said to have taken place not at *Eleusis*, but at the temple of Ceres in *Agra*, where the *lesser mysteries* were celebrated. *Vid. Stephan. in lib. Meursii de Populis Atticæ, ap. Gronov. Thes. Græc. Antiq.* vol. IV. p. 683. *L. Bat.* 1699.

Stélé, lying horizontally, and serving as a horse-block. When we drew near to examine it, we discovered that it had been placed upon the TOMB OF EUCLID OF HERMIONE, whom we found to be represented upon the upper part of the pillar, standing beneath an arch, in a philosopher's habit, and with a scroll in his hand. Beneath this figure, near to the base of the pillar, and upon the part of the stone which must have been buried when the *Stélé* was erected, we observed the usual animal symbol of Anubis, the *infernal* Mercury, in the form of A DOG, rudely sketched upon the surface; and over the arched recess, containing the figure of the philosopher, we read, in very legible characters, this inscription in the Doric dialect, remarkable for the variation in the genitive case:

ΕΥΚΛΙΔΑΣ ΕΥΚΛΙΔΟΥ
ΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΥΣ

"EUCLID SON OF EUCLID OF HERMIONE."

Of two celebrated philosophers who bore this name, the disciple of Socrates, as the first, was a native of Megara; and the mathematician, as the second, flourished at Alexandria. The manner of the writing, the style of the sculpture, and the form of the arch, might induce an opinion that this *Stélé* was not of ancient date sufficient for either of their sepulchres; yet it may be observed that *Spon** has given, from a medal struck at *Megara*, a portrait of EUCLID *the Wrangler*, with his name on one side, and that of *Hadrian* on the other; and *Bellori* has published a different coin (ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ) with the head of EUCLID, as *Aulus Gellius*† describes it, "*ricâ velatus*," with which the figure on the *Stélé* agrees. Both representations may therefore have been intended to represent the same individual; and what further confirms this is, that whilst the reverse of the medal exhibits the figure of *Diana*, bearing in either hand *a torch*, as the symbol of the *lower regions* and of *night*, so the *dog* on the *Stélé*, the animal figure of *Anubis*, is also that of *Sirius* at its *helaical setting*: a significant and appropriate emblem of the philosopher descending into the infernal shades. These marbles, together with our other subsequent

* Miscell. Erud. Antiq. sec. iv. † Lib. vi. c. 10.

acquisitions in bas-reliefs and fragments found in Athens, amounting to fourteen pieces from this city alone, are now in the University library at Cambridge: and as the author's account of them is already before the public, it will be unnecessary in this place to notice the rest.*

We accompanied Signor Lusieri to the THESEUM; and, having obtained admission to the interior of the temple, paid a melancholy visit to the grave of that accomplished scholar whose name we had found inscribed upon the pillars of Sunium; the exemplary and lamented TWEDDELL.† It

* See "Greek Marbles," Nos. x. xi. xii. xv. xvii. xviii. xxii. xxvii. xxx. xxxiii. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxvii. *Cambridge*, 1809.

† JOHN TWEDDELL, the eldest son of Francis Tweddell, Esq. of Threepwood, in the county of Northumberland, was born on the 1st of June, 1769; and after passing through the usual course of preparatory education, was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by such proofs of original genius as are, perhaps, without example, even in the records of that learned society. As a candidate for University honours, his "*Prolusiones Academicæ*" attest his success to have been equally brilliant and extraordinary, and supersede the necessity of particular illustration. Mr. Tweddell was elected a fellow of Trinity College in 1792, and soon afterward entered himself a student of Lincoln's Inn, where he kept his terms, and continued to reside until the year 1795, when he left England to commence his travels on the continent of Europe—and met with that untimely fate which has mixed his ashes with those of the sages and philosophers of Greece. He visited Switzerland, Germany, most parts of the Russian empire, and particularly the Crimea, where his intercourse with professor Pallas was of the most intimate kind, and had so endeared him to that amiable scholar, that the admiration with which he spoke of him partook of the tenderness and affection of a father. From the borders of the Euxine, where his researches were both diligent and productive, he proceeded to Constantinople; and after spending some part of the summer of 1798 under the hospitable roof of Spencer Smith, Esq. the English minister, he took his departure for the Grecian Islands; and having traversed the provinces of Macedonia and Thessaly, arrived at Athens, where, after a residence of several months, he reached the period of all his learned labours, on the 25th of July, 1799.

Mr. Tweddell, independent of the advantages which his own merit secured for him in the countries which he visited, possessed recommendations and facilities of a superior kind for conducting his learned pursuits; and his industry keeping pace with his talents and opportunities, his *Collections* and *Manuscripts* are known to have been extensive and singularly valuable. Perhaps no traveller of modern times has enjoyed in an equal degree the means of investigating the Antiquities of Greece. That the literary property, therefore, of this gentleman, after being in the undisputed custody of the British ambassador at Constantinople, should absolutely have disappeared *in toto*, and eluded the most diligent inquiries of his family and friends, presents a subject for the deepest regret, and is a circumstance in itself of the most unaccountable nature. Upon this point, however, the author refrains from saying all that he might, in the expectation of seeing this strange mystery unfolded by a kindred hand which may justly aspire to the best information. He will therefore close this imperfect sketch of his accomplished friend, with briefly observing, that the endowments of the scholar, in this instance, were, in a singular degree, associated with those polished but unaffected manners which give them peculiar lustre; and recommended yet

was simply a small oblong heap of earth, like to those over the common graves in all our English church-yards, without stone, or inscription of any kind. The body, too, had been carelessly interred: we were told that it did not lie more than three or four feet beneath the surface. The part of the temple where it has been buried is now converted into a Greek church, dedicated to St. George; but as it is left open during particular times of the year, and is always liable to be entered by foraging animals who creep into such retreats, we thought it probable that the body would be disturbed unless further precaution were used; and at any rate it was proper that some stone should be laid upon the spot. Having therefore obtained permission to take up the coffin, and Lusieri promising to superintend the work, we sat about providing a proper covering for the grave; promising to send an inscription worthy of the name it was destined to commemorate. Large blocks of Pentelican marble from the Parthenon, which had been sawed from the bas-reliefs intended for our ambassador, were then lying in the Acropolis ready for the purpose: we therefore begged for one of these; and before we left Athens every thing had been settled, and seemed likely to proceed according to our wishes.*

This beautiful Doric temple, more resembling, in the style of its architecture, the temples of Pæstum than that of Minerva in the Acropolis, and the most entire of any of the remaining structures of Ancient Greece were it not for the damage which the sculptures have sustained, may be considered as still perfect. The ruined state of the metopes

more substantially by the addition of the most amiable and engaging virtues. As a consolotary expectation, he believes he may venture to add, that the friends of Mr. Tweddell have a prospect of being gratified with a selection of his correspondence.

* A curious sort of contest has, however, since impeded the work. Other English travellers arrived in Athens; and a dispute arose, fomented by the feuds and jealousies of rival artists and opposite parties in politics, both as to the nature of the inscription, and the persons who should be allowed to accomplish the work. At length it is said, that, owing to the exertions of Lord Byron, and another most enterprising traveller, Mr. John Fiott, of St. John's College, Cambridge, the stone has been laid; and the following beautiful epitaph, composed by Mr. Walpole, in 1805, has been inscribed thereon.

Εὕδεις ἐν φθιμένοισι· μάτην Σοφίης ποτ' ἐδρέψας
"Ανθεα, καί σε νέον Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε μάτην.
'Αλλὰ μόνον τοι σῶμα τὸ γήϊνον ἀμφικαλύπτει
Τύμβος· τὴν ψυχὴν οὐρανος αἰπὺς ἔχει.
'Ημῖν Θ' οἵ σε φίλοι, φίλον ὡς, κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες,
Μνῆμα φιλοφροσύνης, χλῶρὸν, ὀδυρόμεθα,
'Ηδὺ γ' ὅμως καὶ τερπνὸν ἔχειν τοῦτ' ἐςὶν, 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
"Ως συ, Βρέταννος ἕων, κείσεαι ἐν σποδίῃ.

and frieze has proved indeed a very fortunate circumstance; for it was owing solely to this that the building escaped the ravages which were going on in the Parthenon. Lusieri told us there was nothing but what was considered as too much mutilated to answer for the expense and difficulty of taking it down.* The entire edifice is of Pentelican marble; it stands east and west, the principal front facing the east: and it is that kind of building which was called by ancient architects, as it is expressed in the language of Vitruvius, and explained by Stuart,† a *Peripteros;* that is to say, it has a portico of six columns in each front, and on each side a range of eleven columns, exclusive of the columns on the angles. All these columns remain in their original position, excepting two that separated the portico from the *pronaos*, which have been demolished. Every circumstance respecting them has already been often detailed. Like all pillars raised according to the most ancient Doric style of building, they are without bases or pedestals; standing, with inexpressible dignity and simplicity,‡ upon the pavement of the covered walk around the cell of the temple. Some of the metopes represent the labours of Hercules; others, the exploits of Theseus; and there are some which were never adorned with any sculpture. Above the *antæ* of the *pronaos* is a sculptured frieze, the subject of which cannot now be determined; and the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ is represented upon a similar frieze of the *posticus*. In the tympanum of the pediment, over the eastern front, Stuart observed several holes in the marble, where metal cramps

* Accordingly we read,—"As the walls and columns of this monument are in their original position, no part of the sculpture has been displaced, nor the minutest fragment of any kind separated from the building." (*Memorandum*, p. 18. *Lond.* 1811.) There is nothing said here of the "impending ruin" (*Ibid.* p. 8.) to which the remaining sculpture is exposed; nothing of "the zeal of the early christians" (p. 11.) and "the barbarism of the Turks;" but we are told that "the temple itself" (p. 19) *is very inferior in decorative sculpture to the Parthenon;*" and this kind of remark, made with great *naïveté*, most happily explains the *hair-breadth escape of the building* from the ill-judged rapacity which has tended to the ruin of the noblest monuments of Greece.

† See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. p. 5. *Lond.* 1794.

‡ "The awful dignity and grandeur in this kind of temple, arising from the perfect agreement of its parts, strikes the beholder with a sensation which he may look for in vain in buildings of any other description. . . . . There is a certain appearance of eternal duration in this species of edifice, that gives a solemn and majestic feeling, while every part is perceived to contribute its share to this character of durability. . . . . These considerations will convince us that no material change can be made in the proportions of the genuine Doric, without destroying its peculiar character." See *Reveley's Pref. to* vol. III. *of Stuart's Athens*, p. 14. Lond. 1794.

had been fixed for sustaining sculpture in entire relief, as over the eastern entrance to the Parthenon.* The action of the atmosphere in this fine climate upon the marble has diffused over the whole edifice, as over all the buildings in the Acropolis, a warm ochreous tint, which is peculiar to the ruins of Athens; it bears no resemblance to that black and dingy hue which is acquired by all works in stone and marble when they have been exposed to the open air in the more northern countries of Europe, and especially in England. Perhaps to this warm colour, so remarkably characterizing the remains of ancient buildings at Athens, Plutarch alluded, in that beautiful passage† cited by Chandler,‡ when he affirmed, that the structures of Pericles possessed a peculiar and unparalleled excellence of character; "a certain freshness bloomed upon them, and preserved their faces uninjured, as if they possessed a never-fading spirit, and had a soul insensible to age." In the description given of the THESEUM by Pausanias, he mentions ΓΡΑΦΑΙ among the decorations;ᾗ and Chandler gives this word as he found it in the original text of that author,‖ without rendering it, as some have done, "*pictures*" or "*painted representations.*" The very subjects of those representations correspond with the remaining sculptures upon the metopes and frieze; and Mycon, who is mentioned as the artist, was a statuary as well as a painter. The history of the hero, to whose memory this magnificent building was erected, resembles, as to its probability, one of the extravagant fictions of the "*Arabian Nights;*" and may be regarded as upon an equality with the "*voyages of Sindbad,*" or the "*story of Aladdin.*" That it was originally a tomb, like all other Grecian temples, can admit of no doubt: eight hundred years had elapsed, when Cimon removed the precious relics from the Isle of Scyros, which were here enshrined; and the circumstances of the *brazen-headed* lance and sword, found with the bones said to

* See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. p. 2. Lond. 1794.

† Ὅθεν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι νῦν προσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νεοργόν· οὕτως ἐπανθεῖ τις καινότης ἀεὶ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα τὴν ὄψιν, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΑΕΙΘΑΛΕΣ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΑΓΗΡΩ ΚΑΤΑΜΕΜΙΓΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ. Plutarch. in Vit. Pericl. tom. I. p. 352. *Lond.* 1729.

‡ Trav. in Greece, c. 9. p. 39. *Oxford*, 1776.

ᾗ Γραφαὶ δέ εἰσι, κ. τ. λ. Γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ ποῦ Θησέως ἱερῷ, καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ ἡ Λαπιθῶν μάχη. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 17. p. 40. *Lips.* 1696.

‖ Trav. in Greece, c. 14. p. 71. *Oxf.* 1766.

have belonged to Theseus, denote weapons of the remotest ages:* but the manner in which the place of his original interment had been pointed out,† calls to mind the juggling of a later period, when the mother of Constantine sought to discover the real timber on which the Messiah had suffered crucifixion; so easy has it been in every age to gratify a credulous and superstitious people, by delusions of pretended miracles, and dreams of a particular Providence interrupting the order of nature for purposes the most contemptible; although, in the history of the world, few instances have occurred where a monument of equal magnificence has resulted from any idle and stupid fiction. The building is believed to bear date from the event mentioned by Plutarch, both in his life of Cimon, and of Theseus; when, after the conquest of Scyros, the son of Miltiades arrived in Athens bearing the mouldering bones and weapons he had so marvellously discovered. They were received by the Athenians, says Plutarch,‡ as if Theseus himself had returned among them. The solemnity of their interment took place in the very midst of the city, *near to the Gymnasium*;§ accompanied by every splendid pomp and costly sacrifice with which the Athenians, of all people, were the most ready to appease the manes of a departed hero. This event happened during the archonship of *Apsephion*: so that the THESEUM has now braved the attacks of time, of earthquakes, and of barbarians, during a lapse of considerably above two thousand years;|| and its relative position with regard to the *Gymnasium* renders it an important point of observation, whence the situation of many other buildings of the ancient city may be ascertained.

* Εὑρέθη δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος, αἰχμή τε παρακειμένη χαλκῆ, καὶ ξίφος. Plut. in Vit. Thes. tom. I. p. 35. *Lond.* 1729.

† Ἦν δὲ καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπορία, καὶ γνῶναι τὸν τάφον, ἀμιξίαι καὶ χαλεπότητι τῶν ἐνοικούντων βαρβάρων. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ Κίμων ἑλὼν τὴν νῆσον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἐξανευρεῖν, ΑΕΤΟΥ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΒΟΥΝΟΕΙΔΗ ΚΟΠΤΟΝΤΟΣ, ὥς φασι, τῷ στόματι καὶ διαστέλλοντος τοῖς ὄνυξι, θείαι τινὶ τύχῃ συμφρονήσας, ἀνέσκαψεν. Plut. in Vit. Thes. p. 35. *Lond.* 1729.

‡ Ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. Ibid.

§ Παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον. Ibid.

|| The arrival of Cimon with the bones of Theseus, happened in the same year as the birth of Socrates; that is to say, in the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad, 469 years before Christ, according to *Corsini*. Æschylus and Sophocles then disputed the prize of Tragedy, which was adjudged to Sophocles. (*Vid. Chronicon ex Marmoribus Arundelianis, Epoch.* 57.) If we allow, therefore, *ten* years for the building of the temple, (and *five* has been considered a sufficient number,) this edifice has stood nearly twenty-three centuries.

Leaving the *Theseum*, we again visited the *Areopagus*; and we detached from the rock some specimens of the remarkable aggregate whereof this eminence consists. All the lower part of it, as before mentioned, consists of breccia; but we found here a sparry carbonate of lime, of a honey colour, exhibiting, by fracture, imperfect prisms ranged parallel to each other. From the Areopagus we proceeded to a little chapel, situated upon the spot where the ancient PIRÆEAN GATE of the city formerly stood: near to this, as Pausanias relates,* there was a tomb with an equestrian statue by Praxiteles. The place where the gate was situated may still be discerned; and also a part of the northern limb of the "*long legs*," μακρὰ σκέλη, extending from the city to the sea. We then ascended towards the north of the *Piræean Gate*, where may still be seen in a state of the most admirable preservation, the ground-plot and entire form of the PNYX, or ancient place of *parlement* of the Athenians; as it was appropriated by Solon to the assemblies of the citizens.†—This structure is not likely to be much affected by the lapse of entire centuries: almost the whole of it, even to the *pulpitum* for the orators, which yet remains, is an excavation of the rock; and the several parts of it were carved in stone, of one solid mass, with the exception only of the semicircular area, the farthest part of which from the *pulpitum* consists of masonry.‡ In the perpendicular surface

* Pausaniæ Attica, c. 2. p. 6. *Lips.* 1696.

† Πνὺξ, so called διὰ τὸ πεπυκνῶσθαι τοῖς λίθοις.

‡ That this place was really the *Pnyx*, is now universally the opinion of travellers who have visited Athens. It had been called *Areopagus* and *Odeum*. Chandler was the first by whom it was accurately described. The *altar* and *stone pulpit*, which he mentions, agree with its furniture as upon record. Chandler says these have been removed; but the *pulpit*, if not the *altar*, certainly remains. A more attentive examination of the antiquities of Athens, if it effect no change as to the name now given to this place, will very probably alter the appellations too hastily bestowed upon some of the others. Perhaps the *Pnyx* may be considered as better ascertained than almost any remaining structure destitute of an inscription whereby it may be identified; and for this, the literary world is mainly indebted to the Earl of Aberdeen, who carried on a very extensive examination of the spot, sparing no expense during an excavation which he made here, to have this point determined. The *dona votiva* which he discovered are very remarkable. (*See the Extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal, p. 28 of this vol.*) But the site of the *Odeum of Pericles* is entirely unknown. It must have stood at the termination of the street of the Tripods. The situation of the *Prytaneum* remains also to be determined; and it cannot be said that our evidence for identifying the *three* great buildings, the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*, the *Theatre of Regilla*, and the *Theatre of Bacchus*, with the remains which severally bear either of these appellations, is altogether satisfactory. There is much to be done by future travellers; and the excavations which

of the rock, facing this area, are *niches* for the votive tablets; the characteristic and most genuine marks of places held in any peculiar degree of consideration throughout the whole of ancient Greece, and in every country where her colonies extended. To approach the spot once dignified by the presence of the greatest Grecian orators; to set our feet where they stood; and actually to behold the place where Demosthenes addressed the "Men of Athens," calling to mind the most memorable examples of his eloquence; is a gratification of an exalted nature. But the feelings excited on viewing the *Pnyx* peculiarly affect the hearts of Englishmen: that holy fire, so much dreaded by the Athenian tyrants, and which this place had such a remarkable tendency to agitate, burns yet in Britain: it is the very soul of her liberties; and it strengthens the security of her laws; giving eloquence to her senate, heroism to her arms, extension to her commerce, and freedom to her people: although annihilated in almost every country of the earth, it lives in England; and its extinction there, like the going out of the sacred flame in the Temple of Delphi, would be felt as a national calamity. The circumstances connected with the history of the *Pnyx* prove how difficult a thing it was to subdue the love of freedom among the ancient Grecians.—The Athenian tyrants vainly imagined that it originated solely in the position of the βῆμα or *stone pulpit*, whence the orators harangued the people; forgetting that it is a natural principle implanted by providence in the human heart. Under the notion they had thus conceived, they altered the plan of the *Pnyx:* the βῆμα, had been fronted toward the sea; they fronted it toward the land; believing that a people diverted from allusions to maritime affairs toward those of agricultural labour would be more easy under an oligarchical dominion.* The project was not attended with the consequences that were expected; the same spirit yet prevailed: but this place was still considered as its source; and at last, finding that alterations of the structure availed nothing toward its dissolution, the meetings in the *Pnyx* were entirely abolished. The place itself has, however, been suffered

they may make, by bringing to light many valuable documents, will greatly tend to illustrate the topography of the city.

* Διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκὶ πεποιημένον ὧδε ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὕστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν, γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχίαι δ' ἧττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας. Plutarch. in Themist. p. 268. tom. I. *Lond.* 1729.

to remain unaltered to the present day, and may serve to illustrate passages in ancient authors which before were but imperfectly understood. A very accurate design of the structure, as it now exists, has been already published by Stuart, in which the βῆμα is represented: and if it were possible to naturalize this word, it might be preferable to any other, as applied to the *pulpit*, whence the Grecian orators addressed the people. *Rostrum* is a Roman appellation, and introduces associations of a foreign nature: the same remark applies to *Tribunal: Logeum* and *Thymele*, are terms borrowed from the Grecian theatres: it is *Bema* only which, upon the authority of Plutarch, confines the name; and fixes the attention, accurately and exclusively, upon the throne of Grecian eloquence. Here we find the object itself within the *Pnyx*, fronted towards the city and the plain, exactly as it was left by the Athenian Tyrants. The *altar* is also seen; forcibly illustrating, at this hour, the following passage of the comic poet:

"Οστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοῦ' ν τῇ Πνυκί.

From this illustrious memorial of Athenian history, we descended once more to the *Cœle*, or *hollow way*, of Pausanias; and, crossing the road from the *Piræeus*, passed the *Cryptæ* of the *Hill of Musæus*, and ascended to the MONUMENT OF PHILOPAPPUS, standing upon its summit. There is no account of this structure by any ancient author, if we except Pausanias; who merely says of it,* that in the place where *Musæus* was buried a monument was afterward erected, ἀνδρὶ Σύρῳ, without adding a syllable as to his name or history; which is remarkable, considering the attention usually bestowed by him upon objects much less worthy of regard. It is within the walls of the ancient, although at some distance from those of the modern city: and the view from hence of the citadel of Athens, the *Sinus Saronicus*, and the neighbouring territories, is very striking.. Looking toward the sea, the eye commands the ports of the *Piræeus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalerus*; the isles of *Salamis*, and *Ægina*; and the mountains of *Peloponnesus*, as far as the Gulf of *Argos*. The frequent mention of it by other travellers,†

* Pausaniæ Attica, c. 26. p. 61. *Lips.* 1696.
† See Wheler, Spon, Le Roy, Stuart, Chandler, &c. &c.

added to the beautiful views of its several parts engraved for Stuart's "Antiquities of Athens,"* render any descriptive detail unnecessary. It is supposed, from the inscriptions upon it,† that it was erected in the beginning of the second century. Stuart, in opposition to Wheler and Spon, believed it to have been raised, not in memory of a single individual,‡ but "in honour of the last king of Commagene, and more than one of his descendants." It originally consisted of three compartments between four Corinthian pilasters; that is to say, of an arched recess, containing a central sitting figure, and having a square niche on each side of it. Below these appeared three superb sculptures in relief; that in the centre, beneath the sitting statue, exhibits Trajan in a car drawn by four horses, as he is represented on many monuments of the triumphs of that emperor; and his figure here corresponds with the image of him which is preserved upon the arch of *Beneventum* in Italy. On either side, in square compartments, were seen the attendants preceding and following the triumphal car. When Stuart visited Athens, it was not more perfect than it is now; but he was fortunate enough to discover, at the bottom of the hill, two statues that had stood erect, in Roman habits; and these, being exactly in the same style of workmanship with the sculptures still remaining on the monument, he supposed to have stood above the two central pilasters.§ But if this be true, there were probably two other figures above the remaining pilasters at the sides, to complete the symmetry of the work; which might thus admit of easy restoration from the hand of an artist willing to represent the whole of this most stately monument as it originally appeared. The statues mentioned by Stuart disappeared about thirty years after he left Athens.‖

* Vol. III. chap. 5. Plates 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. *Lond.* 1794.

† Under the figure in the left niche:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

Under the figure in the middle niche:

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣΒΗΣΙΕΥΣ

Upon the pilaster between these niches:

C·IVLIVS·CF·FABIA·ANTIOCHVS·PHILOPAPPVS·COS·FRATER
ARVALIS·ALLECTVS·INTER·PRAETORIOS·AB·IMP·CAESARE·NERVA
TRAIANO·OPTIMO·AVGVSTO·GERMANICO·DACCIO

See *Stuart's Athens*, vol. III. c. 5.

‡ Ibid. p. 39.

§ See Stuart's Athens, p. 36.

‖ In 1785. See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. p. 36. note (*a*).

Descending from the Museum, we observed some remains of the ANCIENT WALLS of the city upon its southern side, and of the entrance from *Phalerum.* The vestiges of these walls also appear extending toward the monument of Philopappus, which they enclosed; thence they bore off toward the Piræean gate, in a line of direction almost due north and south. Afterwards, crossing the plain, we visited the THEATRE and CAVE OF BACCHUS: and some substructions were shown to us by Signor Lusieri, which he conceived to be the foundations of a temple dedicated also to the same deity. Nothing exists now of the theatre, excepting the circular sweep for the seats, as in the earliest ages of dramatic representation it was universally formed, by scooping the sloping side of a rock. But how majestic, and how perfect in its preservation, rises the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus above this theatre!* and how sublime the whole group of objects with which it was associated at the time of our visit, and before the work of dilapidation had commenced—the ancient sun-dial; the statue of the god; the pillars for the tripods; the majestic citadel! The last of these has indeed defied the desolating ravages of Barbaric power; but who shall again behold the other objects in this affecting scene as they then appeared? or in what distant country, and obscure retreat, may we look for their mutilated fragments? Often as these monuments had been described, we observed some things which perhaps have not been before noticed. This part of the rock of the Acropolis consists of a hard *red breccia,* similar to that which was observed at the Areopagus. Toward the left of the MONUMENT OF THRASYLLUS the surface of the stone has been planed perpendicularly; and here, beneath the two CHORAGIC PILLARS, we saw upon the rock, an inscription alluded to, but not copied, by Stuart,† and mentioned by no other writer. It extends in two parts, which may have belonged to two separate legends, one above the other; but the characters are alike in both, and they are deeply engraven in the stone, after the manner of those inscriptions which we discovered at Jerusalem, over the doors of the tombs in

* The best representation of it is in Le Roy; ("*Ruines de la Grèce,*" pl. 8. *Paris,* 1758;) now the more valuable, as the monument, in its present mutilated state, no longer exhibits the appearance it then presented.

† Antiq. of Athens, vol. II. p. 7. *Lond.* 1787. Stuart wrote ΑΝΕΘΗΣΑΝ for ΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ.

Mount Sion.* The only letters sufficiently perfect to be legible are the following; but the termination of the upper line could not be ascertained, and this line was remarkably separated from the lower part of the inscription by a natural or artificial linear cavity in the stone:

ΑΠΕΙΣΩΝΙΑΝΟΣΔΑΙ...

ΤΡΙΠΟϹΑΝΕΘΕϹΑΝ

In its very imperfect state it must be left to the conjectures of the learned.† The importance of its situation, and the circumstance of its never having been published before, certainly entitles it to the reader's notice. As to its interpretation, it evidently refers to the erection of *tripods*: this appears both from the words of the inscription, and from its contiguity to the choragic pillars. The name *Pisonianus* seems to occur before Δαι; and these letters may have reference to the word Δαίμων, in one of its cases. Bacchus bears the title of *Dæmon* throughout the *Bacchæ* of Euripides.‡ With regard to the *Crypt* which is behind the monument of Thrasyllus, by some called the *cave of Bacchus*, and now a Greek chapel bearing the appellation of *Panagia Spiliotisa, or the blessed lady of the grotto*, it is decidedly mentioned by Pausanias; and his allusion to it, added to the description which he gives of its situation, serve to identify the theatre. He says it contained *a tripod*, with the figures of *Apollo* and *Diana*, represented as destroying the children of *Niobe*.§ But its more ancient history may possibly refer to an earlier period than that of the *choragic games* of the Athenians, and to customs which existed in Attica long before the institution of the *Dionysia*. That it ought not to have been considered as necessarily associated with the structure now placed before it, seems to be evident from the

* See Vol. II. of these Travels, p. 337.

† Τρίπος is found in Hesychius. The use of the verb ἀνέθεσαν occurs thus in Lucian. Ὕλας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ ὄρη ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὄρνεα καθιέρωσαν, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἑκάστῳ θεῷ. *Montes dedicârunt, vel consecrârunt, unicuique Deo.*

‡ Ὁ δαίμων, ὁ Διὸς παῖς. v. 417. τὸν δαίμον' εἰσφέρων νέον. v. 256. φάνεντα θνητοῖς δαίμονα. v. 42. ἐμφανῆς δαίμων βροτοῖς. v. 22. (*Camb.* 1694.) κ. τ. λ. The Greek writers, and especially the poets, use the word Δαίμων as applied to *a god* or *goddess*.

§ ΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΙ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΑΤΡΟΥ, ΣΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΙΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΝ. Τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδας εἰσὶν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 21. p. 49. *Lips.* 1696.

circumstance of the entrance being closed when the building was added. In the inscription, upon the middle of the architrave, and immediately over the central pilaster of the monument, no mention is made of the grotto: the legend appears to refer only to the structure whereon it is inscribed.* From this it may be conjectured, that the cave was one of the most ancient *sepulchral cryptæ* of the first settlers upon this rock: there are many other of a similar nature, fronting the *Phalerum*, in the approach to Athens, and in the *hill of Musæus*. It is precisely in the situation where such caves were often constructed for sepulchral purposes, by the earliest Grecian colonies, and by the inhabitants of all the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; that is to say, upon the outside and beneath the walls of the Acropolis; being hollowed in the rocks upon which their citadels were erected. Instances of this custom have been mentioned more than once in the former parts of this work.† Here we were gratified by finding the *ice-plant* (*Mesembryanthemum crystallinum*, Linn.) sprouting luxuriantly, in its wild and native state, among the ruins: it was now in seed;‡ and we collected the capsules to send to England.§ This was the only spot in all Greece where we remarked this plant. The observations of former travellers prove it to be an Athenian plant;‖ yet it had been transported to England, and was cultivated there so early as the beginning of the last century.**

On the following day we set out to visit those prodigious columns, which, owing to their magnitude and situation, are almost everywhere in view, bearing traditionally the name of *Hadrian's Pillars*. In our way thither, we passed beneath an arch which conducted from the *old city* of Theseus to the *New-Athens* built by *Hadrian*; upon which the several appellations of *Porta Hadriani*, *Arch of Theseus*, and *Arch of Ægeus*, have been bestowed.†† Its situation with respect to the walls of the ancient city, and the obliquity of its position

* See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 63. *Oxf.* 1776.

† See vol. I. of these travels, Chap. XX. p. 324.

‡ October 30.

§ We collected many rare plants in the neighbourhood of Athens; but the specimens were destroyed in their passage home, by the wreck of the *Princessa* merchantman, off Beachy head.

‖ It was found near Athens, by John Sibthorpe, MD. Professor of botany at Oxford.

** In 1727, according to Bradley. See *Martyn's edit. of Miller's Dict. Lond.* 1807.

†† See Wheler, Spon, Le Roy, Stuart, Chandler, &c. &c.

with regard to the peribolus which enclosed the plane of *Hadrian's Pillars*, seems to authorize an objection, already urged,* against the notion of its having been originally *a gate*. Le Roy's view of it† is much finer, as to general effect, than that which Stuart has given,‡ and exhibits more of the grandeur of the original. The stones are put together without cement; but the work is adorned with a row of Corinthian pilasters and columns, with bases supporting an upper tier in the same style of architecture, thereby denoting a mode of building more characteristic of the age of *Hadrian* than of any earlier period in Athenian history. In the endeavours which have been made to trace its origin, and to ascertain its antiquity, it is somewhat strange that no one has stated, what the first view of it seems to suggest as the most probable opinion concerning this structure; namely, that it was a *triumphal arch*, erected in honour of Hadrian upon his coming to Athens. Stuart has observed,§ that "it appears evidently not to have been connected with, or to have made a part of, any other building, but to have been originally intended to remain insulated." He also considers the inscriptions upon the two sides of it "as a complimentary effusion of gratitude to a liberal benefactor;" and yet he has been induced, by the forced construction of a passage in Plutarch, to believe this building to be the *arch of Ægeus*, rebuilt by the Roman emperor. If this had been the case, and if Hadrian, as he supposes, had really restored a venerable fabric owing to any regard for the consideration in which its original founder was held, he would not surely have opposed his own fame to that of Theseus, as we find it to be vaunted in the two inscriptions upon the arch.‖ It seems more reasonable to suppose that these inscriptions were placed by the Athenians upon a *triumphal arch* erected in honour of *Hadrian*, as adulatory testimonies of their regard for a patron to whose munificence their city was so much indebted, and as the highest compliment they could

* Stuart's Antiq. of Athens, as above cited.
† Les ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce, pl. 21. *Paris*, 1757.
‡ Antiq. of Athens, vol. III. c. 3. pl. 1. Lond. 1794.
§ Ibid. p. 20.
‖ On the south-eastern side, toward the Acropolis:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩΣΗΠΡΙΝΠΟΛΙΣ

Hæ sunt istæ Athenæ Thesei quondam urbs.

On the north-western side, toward the temple of Jupiter Olympius:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚΟΥΧΙΘΕΣΕΩΣΠΟΛΙΣ

Hæ sunt istæ Athenæ Hadriani, et nequaquam Thesei urbs.

bestow. That *Hadrian* coveted the thanks and praises of dependent states; that he sought to be so rewarded for the favours he conferred upon them; seems to be evident from one of his epistles alluding to the acknowledgments made by the people of Alexandria for his bounty to their city, and already cited in a former part of this work.* The form and style of the structure also agrees with this opinion of its origin; for it resembles the usual form of the triumphal arches raised in honour of the Roman emperors.† It is built entirely of *Pentelican* marble; nor was this magnificence inconsistent with the materials commonly used in constructing triumphal arches. The arches of *Romulus*, it is true, were of *brick;* and that of *Camillus* was of *plain square stone;* but those of *Cæsar*, *Drusus*, *Titus*, *Trajan*, and *Gordian*, were, like this of *Hadrian*, entirely of *marble*. In addition it may be urged, that trophies of this kind were unknown in Greece before the time of the Roman emperors. The mere circumstance of its form is therefore almost decisive as to its origin; for the practice of erecting arches, as monuments of noble enterprises, and in honour of distinguished personages, was not a *Grecian* but a *Roman* custom. Its proper appellation seems therefore to be that, which tradition, supported by the evidence of an inscription upon its south-eastern side, has long assigned to it; namely, the ARCH OF HADRIAN: and the occasion of its erection will be found in the remarkable event of *Hadrian's* return to Athens for the consecration of the identical temple to which this arch conducted: this happened early in the second century.‡ Three years only had elapsed since the emperor entered into the priesthood of the *Eleusinian Ceres;* an event which was distinguished by the martyrdom of many Athenian christians, with *Publius* their bishop.§ The heathens were therefore animated by every emotion of religious zeal, and by every sentiment of gratitude, to receive, with all the honours of triumph, the patron who had restored the temples of their gods; the champion

* See Chap. VII. p. 177. vol. III.

† The first specimen of Grecian architecture erected in Great Britain was modelled from this arch; and the remains of the copy, although offering a paltry imitation, and upon an insignificant scale, may still be seen in the University of Cambridge. It is the southern front of the gate of Caius College, facing the Senate House and Public Library; erected in 1557, by John Caius, M. D. after designs by John of Padua.

‡ A. D. 128.

A. D. 125.

who had trodden down the enemies of their faith.* If ever, in the history of the world, there was a time, when it was peculiarly appropriate that a triumph should be decreed, it was at this period, and upon this occasion. The ancient city seemed to revive with more than pristine splendour from its ruins; ever since the age of *Dicæarchus*, its condition had been described as so wretched, that foreigners, upon the first sight of it, would scarcely believe they beheld what once had been so renowned a city;† but a *new Athens* had arisen under the auspices of the emperor. Magnificent temples, stately shrines, unsullied altars, awaited the benediction of the sacerdotal monarch; and it would indeed have been marvellous if the Athenians, naturally prone to adulation, neglected to bestow it upon a benefactor so well disposed for its reception. The triumphal arch was of course prepared; and lasting characters, thereon inscribed, have proclaimed to succeeding ages that "THE ATHENS OF HADRIAN HAD ECLIPSED THE CITY OF THESEUS."

We now advanced towards the stupendous pillars which also bear the name of that emperor; and a much more difficult task would remain, if we should undertake to develop the circumstances of their history. According to the routine of objects, as they were observed by Pausanias, on this side of the city, the *hundred and twenty pillars of Phrygian marble*, erected by *Hadrian*, were in this situation; that is to say, south-eastward of the Acropolis.‡ Sixteen columns of white marble, each six feet in diameter, and nearly sixty feet in height, now remain standing; all of the Corinthian order, beautifully fluted, and of the most exquisite workmanship.§ But, by the appearance of the plane upon which

* Upon his return to Athens, Hadrian presided as magistrate at the celebration of the *Dionysia*, and wore the Athenian dress. He also gave to the Athenians the island Cephallenia. *Vid. Dio. Cass. in Vit. Hadrian.*

† Ἀπισηθείη δ' ἂν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων θεωρουμένη, εἰ αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ προσαγορευομένη τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις. Dicæarchi Status Græciæ, p. 8. *Oxon.* 1703.

‡ Τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα, ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου. Pausan. Attica, p. 43. *Lips.* 1696.

§ Such is their inordinate size, when compared with the relative proportion of any other architectural pillars to natural objects, that in every representation of them hitherto engraven, where figures of living beings have been introduced by the artist to afford a scale for their dimensions, the design has been frustrated by the reluctance of the engraver to represent these figures sufficiently diminutive; for, as it was difficult to conceive the existence of columns of such magnitude that a man of ordinary stature might remain concealed within any of the *canelures*, some addition has usually been made by engravers to the size of the figures, and the apparent magnitude of the architecture has been thereby diminished.

the columns stand, Wheler was induced to believe that there were originally six rows of pillars, and twenty in each row, which would complete the number mentioned by Pausanias.* Chandler and Stuart are the first authors who have described the *columns of Hadrian* as the remains of *the temple of Jupiter Olympius*.† Le Roy considered them as a part of *the Pantheon*;‡ a name bestowed occasionally, by different travellers, upon almost every building in Athens, whether in the *upper* or in the *lower* city. *Theodosius Zagonalas*, author of the letter to *Martin Crusius*, published in 1583, mentions the *Parthenon*§ under this last appellation. Guilletiere affirms positively, that the principal mosque in the lower city was the *Parthenon*,‖ and afterward describes it as superior to that of Rome. A recent traveller** applies the name, and with more reason, to an edifice described by Stuart as the *Poikile*,†† and by Wheler as the *Olympieum*.‡‡ In this imperfect state of our knowledge with regard to the real history of those pillars, as in many other antiquities in Athens, the author would leave the question to be decided by subsequent investigation, and by the discoveries which the ex-

* "Which, therefore, must be that *hundred and twenty* Pausanias speaketh of, as built by the emperor Hadrian of *Phrygian* marble, being whiter than that of *Pentelycus*." *Journey into Greece*, *Book* V. p. 371. *Lond.* 1682.

† See Trav. in Greece, vol. II. p. 74. *Oxf.* 1776. Also Antiq. of Athens, vol. III. p. 11. *Lond.* 1794.

‡ *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce*, Pl. 22. p. 35. *Paris*, 1758. Le Roy's view of the ruin is perhaps the finest in that magnificent work.

§ This circumstance is alluded to by Spon, (*Voyage de Grèce*, *&c.* tom. II. p. 37. *à la Haye*, 1724.) but it may have originated in an error of the transcriber of *Zygomalas*'s letter, or in an error of the press; πάνθειον being written for παρθενῶν. The words are: "Τὸ πάνθειον: οἰκοδόμην, νικῶσαν πάσας οἰκοδομάς: ἀλιπτῶς ἐκτὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἐχουσὰν τὰς ἱστορίας Ἑλλήνων: καὶ ταῦτα, τὰς θείας. Ipsum pantheum: quod est ædificium, aliis omnibus excellentius: in quo extrà circumquaque historiæ Græcorum sculptæ sunt, et quidem divinæ." (*Vid. Turco-Græciæ*, lib. vii. p. 430. *Basil.* 1583.) The author is here evidently describing the *Parthenon;* and, as he afterward mentions the *horses of Braxiteles*, "ἐπάνω τῆς μεγάλης πύλης (supra magnam portam)," it is not very probable that he believed the building to be the *Pantheon of Hadrian;* unless indeed he alluded to the *horses* which were on each side of the *Propylæa*.

‖ "Il y a trois mosquées à Athènes: une dans le chasteau, qui est l'incomparable temple de Minerve; et deux dans la ville, dont la principale est le fameux *Panthéon*, qu'Adrian y fit bastir." *Voyage d'Athènes*, p. 156. *Paris*, 1675.

** Mr. Wilkins. See the plan engraved for the work published by Mr. Walpole, on parts of Greece, Asia, and Egypt, from the MS. Journals of Travellers in the Levant.

†† Antiq. of Athens, vol. I. c. 5. p. 37. *Lond.* 1682.

‡‡ Journey into Greece, book V. p. 392. *Lond.* 1682.

cavations of future travellers may bring to light, were it not for the recent observations upon this subject by the earl of Aberdeen,* added to the plan of this mighty structure, as afforded both by Chandler† and by Stuart,‡ from their own personal observations; which seem to place the history of the building beyond a doubt, and prove it to have been the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*, constructed with double rows of columns, ten in front, and twenty-one in flank, amounting in all to one hundred and twenty-four; the extent of the front being one hundred and seventy-one feet, and the length of the flank more than four hundred; of which sumptuous and stately temple, these pillars are the majestic ruin. The area, or peribolus, within which it stood, was four stadia in circumference. "Rome," says Chandler,§ "afforded no example of this species of building. It was one of the four marble edifices which had raised to the pinnacle of renown the architects who planned them;‖ men, it is said, admired in the assembly of the gods for their wisdom and excellence." Some of the columns still support their architraves; one of which, being measured while we were in Athens, was found to equal three feet in width; and, although of one entire piece of marble, it extended, in length, twenty-two feet six inches.** Upon the top of the entablature, on the western side of the principal group, is shown the dwelling of a hermit, who fixed his solitary abode upon this eminence, and dedicated his life entirely to the contemplation of the sublime objects by which his mansion was every where surrounded. Seventeen of these pillars were standing in 1576: but a few years before Chandler arrived in Athens, one was thrown down, for the purpose of building a new mosque in the market-place. Such instances of dila-

* Introduction to Wilkin's Trans. of Vitruvius, p. 66. See also note (1) to p. 9, of the text of that work. *Lond.* 1812.

† Trav. in Greece, vol. II. c. 15. p. 74. *Oxf.* 1776.

‡ Antiq. of Athens, vol. III. c. 2. pl. 2. *Lond.* 1794.

§ Trav. in Greece, as above cited.

‖ Antistates, Callæschros, Antimachides, and Porinus, were the earlier architects employed on this fabric.

** What the feelings of the Athenians must have been upon the restoration of this temple, may, in some degree, be collected from the following observations of *Plutarch*, and of *Dicæarchus*, concerning the edifice in its imperfect state. Ὡς γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον, οὕτως ἡ Πλάτωνος σοφία τὴν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καλοῖς μόνον ἔργον ἀτελὲς ἔσχηκεν. (*Plutarch extremo Solone.*) Dicæarchus seems to have had a foresight of its future splendour. He says: Ὀλύμπιον, ἡμιτελὲς μὲν, κατάπληξιν δ' ἔχον τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομήσεως ὑπογραφήν· γενόμενον δ' ἂν βέλτιστον, Εἰ ΣΥΝΕΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ. Dicæarch. Descript. Græc. ap. Meurs. De Athenis Atticis, lib. i. c. 10.

pidation on the part of the Turks are fortunately very rare; and we find that, in this instance, the damage done to the remains of the temple was made a pretext for extorting fifteen purses from the governor of Athens; a tax levied by the Pasha of Negropont, as expressly stated, for the violence committed by the *Waiwode* in overthrowing the pillar.

Descending from the area of the temple toward the ILISSUS, we visited the fountain CALLIRHOE, sometimes called *Enneacrunus*.* We observed *niches* in the rocks for the *votive offerings*, where there had been a cascade: and hereabouts were, in all probability, the altars of those muses mentioned by Pausanias, who were called *Ilissiades*. Afterwards, as we examined the channel of the river, for a considerable extent, we found it to exhibit such evident traces of a powerful current having worn away the solid substance of its rocky bed, that we were convinced it could not formerly have been characterized by the appearance it now exhibits; namely, that of an occasional torrent, sometimes dry throughout the entire year. Chandler says, he visited it several times after snow had fallen upon the mountains, and after heavy rain; but that he never found even the surface of the channel to be covered with water: it lodged only in the hollows of the stone, and trickled from one cavity to another.† Yet we should reluctantly comply with that writer, that the poets who celebrated *Ilissus* "as a stream laving the fields, cool and lucid," either conceived or conveyed "a false idea of this renowned water-course." Some other cause must be assigned for the disagreement of their descriptions with the real character which the river now bears. The earliest traveller whose work we have cited seems to have found no difficulty in accounting for the loss of the current; but, soon after his arrival at Athens distinctly states, that the *water of the Ilissus had been diverted and divided by an infinite number of rivulets*, cut on purpose to supply the fountains in the gardens about the town.‡ In a former part of his work he seems to insinuate that the cur-

* Vid. Meursii Ceramic. Gemin. c. 14. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. tom. IV. p. 982. *L. Bat.* 1699.

† Trav. in Greece, vol. II. p. 79. *Oxf.* 1776.

‡ "Le pont est soûtenu de trois arches; et au dessous est le canal où passoit l'Illissus quand il estoit rivière, car aujourd'huy le canal est sec; *l'Illissus a esté diverty, et partagé en une infinité de rigoles*, qui s'épanchent de costé et d'autre, pour aller faire des jets d'eau dans les jardins des environs de la ville." *Voyage d'Athènes, par De la Guilletiere*, p. 263. *Paris*, 1675.

rent had also been carried off for the use of the mills near to the city;* and those who have visited *Troas* know very well that a channel thus diverted, for a single Turkish mill, is sufficient to carry off a torrent of water not less potent than was the stream of *Ilissus*.† In the simple narrative of *De la Guilletiere* we have therefore sufficient evidence to justify a conclusion, although in opposition to *Chandler*, that the ancient writers by whom the *Ilissus* is mentioned did not fall "into local absurdities and untruths"‡ in their descriptions of that river: neither is there any thing more justly reprehensible in literary matters, than the very common propensity to depreciate the accuracy of poets and historians, whenever a difficulty occurs in reconciling their statements with existing appearances.§

From the bed of the river, (after visiting that part of it where the marble bridge of three arches, mentioned by all writers to the time of Stuart,‖ conducted across the *Ilissus* to AGRÆ,** the scene of one of Plato's dialogues,)†† we as-

* "Le Didascalos nous dit, que c'estoit la faute des moulins, et que *la rivière d'Illissus estoit présentement coupée en tant de canaux*, qu'elle ne pouvoit fournir assez d'eau pour bien moudre le bled." *Ibid.* p. 236.

† See Gell's Topography of Troy, p. 48. *Lond.* 1804.

‡ See Chadler's Travels in Greece, vol. II. p. 79. *Oxf.* 1776.

§ Plato (*in Phæd.* tom. III. p. 229.) mentions *the pure and limpid waters* of the *Ilissus;* but as this passage of that author is expressly alluded to by Mr. Walpole in his *MS. Journal*, when writing upon the same subject, his observations will now be added, as strongly supporting the opinion already given. "Neither wood nor water seem to have abounded in Attica I did not meet a stream of any magnitude (excepting the Cephissus) in any part of it. Dio Chrysostom says, there are not great mountains to be seen, nor are there rivers flowing through the country, μήτε ποταμοὶ διαῤῥέοντες, Orat. 6. Athens itself was supplied with well-water; hence the number of ancient wells we observe cut in the rock about the city near Lycabettus. Pausanias, (lib. i.) as well as Plutarch, in his life of Solon, makes mention of them. The exportation of wood and pitch was forbidden by law, as we find from the Scholiast on a passage in the Knights of Aristophanes. What the country afforded was required for the use of the navy. The Lyceum and Cynosarges were, according to Dicæarchus, κατάδενδρα, *well wooded;* because, as places of public resort, they were much attended to; but trees are not now to be found there. It would be as difficult to find the pure and limpid waters of the Ilissus, καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ, which Plato mentions in the Phædrus; there is never any quantity of water in the river-bed. In former times, the channel was full. Beside the passage from Plato, the following allusion of Cratinus to a famous orator supports this opinion:

Ye gods, what a flow of words is here!
Ilissus is in his throat: Ἴλισσος ἐν τῇ φάρυγι.

and we know that the Pelasgi were accused of waylaying the Athenian women, when they went from the city to draw water from the Ilissus." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

‖ See the view of it in Stuart's Athens. The bridge no longer exists.

** Διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Εἰλισσὸν, χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον, κ. τ. λ. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 19. p. 45. *Lips.* 1696.

†† The *Phædrus;* so called from one of the disciples of Socrates.

cended to view the remains of the STADIUM PANATHENAICUM, which was, in fact, a continuation of the *bridge;* for the latter was seventy feet wide, and conducted immediately into the arena of the former. It has been usual to say of this most wonderful of all the marvellous works of *Herodes Atticus*,‡ that nothing now remains of its former magnificence. To our eyes, every thing necessary to impress the mind with an accurate idea of the object itself, and of its grandeur, and of the prodigious nature of the work, seemed to exist as if it had been in its perfect state. The marble covering of the seats, it is true, no longer appears; but the lines are visible of the different ranges; and perhaps a part of the covering itself might be brought to light by the removal of the soil. The absence of ornament is of little consequence as to the general effect: the decorations of a *Stadium*, however costly in their nature, may be easily imagined; and if, instead of having ransacked the quarries of *Pentelicus* for its garniture, some more precious material had been used, the superficial investment, in so vast a theatre, would not materially have altered its general appearance. The remains of *Stadia* still exist in different parts of Greece; but this of Athens surpasses, as in the days of its splendour, every other in the world. Its form is so perfect, that the spectator traversing the arena between its sloping sides, toward the sweep at its south-eastern extremity, almost imagines himself to be transported to the age in which it was prepared for the reception of its innumerable guests; and when seated in the higher part of it, where people from all *Attica*, ranged by thousands, could survey a still gathering multitude, thronging eagerly toward the spot; every countenance being animated by the greatness of the solemnity, and every heart beating with the most impatient expectation: how affecting is the scene before him! Nothing is wanted to render it

* It was originally constructed by *Lycurgus;* but it was restored by *Herodes*, whose real name, as given by Spon from an Athenian inscription, was *Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes.* He lavished upon it the most enormous sums, covering it entirely with the white marble of mount Pentelicus. Pausanias did not expect to be credited, even in the brief description of this work, as thus given: Τὸ δέ, ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι, στάδιον ἐστὶ λευκοῦ λίθου, μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇδε ἄν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροιτο. ἄνωθεν ὄρος ἐπὶ τὸν Εἰλισσὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μηνοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὀχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλᾶν· τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρώδης ᾠκοδόμησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντέλησιν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη. Pausan. Attica, c. 19. pp. 45, 46. *Lips.* 1696.

more impressive, but the actual presence of the pomp itself—the noise of the chariots—the prancing and the neighing of the horses—the sounds of the music—the exhibition of the combatants—and the shouts of the people. Even the passages through which ferocious animals* were conducted into the arena, and the entrances and retreats for those who contested prizes, do yet remain almost in their entire state. Nothing has been removed or destroyed but the parts which were merely ornamental; and these are not missed in the general survey of a structure necessarily simple as to its form, but inexpressibly great and striking in its aspect: and this effect is owing, not solely to its artificial character, but to the grandeur of its appearance as a work of nature; the very mountains having contributed to the operations of art in its formation.† Such a combination may be often observed in ancient theatres of a semicircular form; but there is not, either in *Hellas* or in *Asia Minor*, an instance where the natural lineaments of the country have admitted of a similar adaptation to the appropriate shape of the Grecian Stadium. This splendid memorial of Attic splendour, and of the renown of a private citizen of Athens, became ultimately his funeral monument; and a very curious discovery may be reserved for future travellers in the majestic sepulchre of Herodes himself; who was here interred‡ with the highest obsequies and most distinguished honours a grateful people could possibly bestow upon the tomb of a benefactor, who spared no expense for them while he was living, and every individual of whom participated in his bounty at his death.§

* When Hadrian was in Athens, he presided at the *Panathenæa*, and caused one thousand wild beasts to be hunted in the *Stadium*, for the diversion of the people. "*Athenis mille feraram venationem in Stadio exhibuit.*" Spartianus, in ejus Vitâ, c. 19.

† There is a very fine view of it, as engraved by Landseer, from a drawing by Reveley, in Stuart's Athens, vol. III. c. 7. pl. 3. *Lond.* 1794.

‡ The funeral of *Herodes Atticus* must have afforded one of the most affecting solemnities of which history makes mention. He was seventy-six years old when he died: and in the instructions which he left for his interment, he desired to be buried at *Marathon*, where he was born; but the Athenians insisted upon possessing his remains, and they caused the youth of their city to bear him to the *Stadium Panathenaicum*, which he had built; all the people accompanying, and pouring forth lamentations as for a deceased parent. Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῖς τῶν ἐφήβων χερσὶν ἁρπάσαντες, ἐς ἄστυ ἤνεγκαν, προαπαντῶντες τῷ λέχει πᾶσα ἡλικία, δακρύοις ἅμα, καὶ εὐφημοῦντες, ὅσα παῖδες, χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρεύσαντες. (*Philostratus in ejus Vitâ, Sophist.* lib. ii. *Lips.* 1709.) What a subject for the pencil of a Raphael! Historical painters sometimes complain that every event in ancient history has been already handled: here is one, at least, to which this complaint is not applicable.

§ He bequeathed to every Athenian a sum nearly equal to three pounds of our money.

A little eastward of the STADIUM are the vestiges of the temple of *Diana Agræa*. Having again crossed the *Ilissus*, we observed, near to its northern bank, some remains which Stuart and others have considered as those of the *Lyceum*. Hence we proceeded toward the east, to ascend MOUNT ANCHESMUS, and to enjoy in one *panoramic** survey the glorious prospect presented from its summit, of all the antiquities and natural beauties in the Athenian plain. At the foot of this mount were the remains of a reservoir, constructed by Hadrian for the purpose of receiving water for his new city, after being conveyed by a most expensive aqueduct, whose broken piers may be traced to the distance of seven miles from the spot, in a north-easterly direction, toward the country between Parnes and Pentelicus. In Stuart's time, part of an arcade of marble remained, consisting of two Ionic columns, with their entablature: and the spring of an arch, containing the fragment of an inscription, which was remarkably restored by Spon's discovery of the entire legend in a manuscript at *Zara*.† It stated, that the work was begun by *Hadrian*, in the *new Athens*, and completed by his son *Antoninus Pius*.‡ The whole fabric is now destroyed, so that even the site of the arcade cannot be determined; but the architrave yet remains, with that part of the inscription which was observed here when Wheler and Spon visited the spot: it forms the lintel or top of one of the gates, leading toward its ancient situation, in the present wall of the city.§ We ascended to the commanding eminence of the mount, once occupied by a *temple of Anchesmian Jupiter*. The Pagan shrine has, as usual, been succeeded by a small christian sanctuary: it is dedicated to St. George. Of the view from this rock, even Wheler could not write without

* Since the plan has been adopted in England of exhibiting the views of celebrated cities by the sort of painting called *Panorama*, a hope has been excited that Athens will one day become the subject of such a picture; and for this purpose it is highly probable that *Mount Anchesmus* will be made the point of observation. At the same time it is liable to this objection, that the grandeur of effect is always diminished in proportion to the elevation of the spectator. The city makes, perhaps, a more striking appearance in the road from ELEUSIS, immediately after leaving the defile of *Daphne*.

† Wheler says at *Spalatro*. See Spon, Voyage de Dalmatie, &c. tom. I. p. 51. *à la Haye*, 1724.

‡ IMP . CAESAR . T . AELIVS . HADRIANVS . ANTONINVS . AUG . PIVS . COS . III . TRIB . POT . II . PP . AQVAEDVCTVM . IN . NOVIS . ATHENIS . COEPTVM . A . DIVO . HADRIANO . PATRE . SVO . CONSVMMAVIT . DEDICAVITQVE

§ See the third volume of Stuart's Athens, as edited by Reveley, p. 28. note (*a*) *Lond*. 1794.

emotion. "Here," said he,* "a *Democritus* might sit and laugh at the pomps and vanities of the world, whose glories so soon vanish; or an *Heraclitus* weep over its manifold misfortunes, telling sad stories of the various changes and events of fate." The prospect embraces every object, excepting only those upon the south-west side of the castle. Instead of describing the effect produced in our minds by such a sight, it will be more consistent with the present undertaking, to note down what the objects really are which the eye commands from this place. It is a plan we propose to adopt again, upon similar occasions, whenever the observations we made upon the spot will enable us so to do. The situation of the observer is north-east of the city: and the reader may suppose him to be looking, in a contrary direction, toward the Acropolis; which is in the centre of this fine picture: thence, regarding the whole circuit of the citadel, from its north-western side, toward the south and east, the different parts of it occur in the following order; although, to a spectator, they all appear to be comprehended in one view.

Central Object.

The lofty rocks of the ACROPOLIS, crowned with its majestic temples, the *Parthenon*, *Erecthéum*, &c.

Fore Ground.

The whole of the modern CITY OF ATHENS, with its gardens, ruins, mosques, and walls, spreading into the plain beneath the citadel. The procession for an Albanian wedding, with music, &c. was at this time passing out of one of the gates.

Right, or North-Western Wing.

The TEMPLE OF THESEUS.

Left, or South-Eastern Wing:

The TEMPLE OF JUPITER OLYMPIUS.

View beyond the citadel, proceeding from West to South and East.

1. Areopagus. 2. Pnyx. 3. Ilissus. 4. Site of the temple of

* Journey into Greece, Book V. p. 374. *Lond.* 1682.

Ceres in *Agræ*, and Fountain Callirhoë. 5. Stadium Panathenaicum, Site of the Lyceum, &c.

Parallel Circuit, with a more extended radius.

1. Hills and Defile of Daphne, or *Via Sacra*. 2. Piræeus, 3. Munychia and Phalerum. 4. Salamis. 5. Ægina. 6. More distant isles. 7. Hymettus.

Ditto, still more extended.

1. Parnes. 2. Mountains beyond Eleusis and Megara. 3. Acropolis of Corinth. 4. Mountains of Peloponnesus. 5. The Ægean and distant Islands.

Immediately beneath the Eye.

1. Plain of Athens, with Albanians engaged in agriculture; herds of cattle, &c. &c.

Hereafter, in describing prospects, where our situation as spectators has been more elevated, and the view thereby rendered still more extensive, as well as the objects more numerous, we shall complete an entire circumference; noting our observations according to the points of a mariner's compass, after the plan adopted by Wheler. During the time that we were occupied in making our survey from this eminence, Lusieri began to trace the outlines of the inestimable view of Athens which he designed, and afterward completed, upon this spot; adding every colour, even the most delicate tints and touches of his pencil, while the objects he delineated were yet before his eyes.* We remained with him during the greater part of the day: and having now examined all the principal antiquities in the immediate vicinity of Athens, we returned by the gate leading to ANCHESMUS, where the inscribed marble, relating to Hadrian's reservoir for water at the foot of the mount, is now placed. After entering the city, we resolved to try our success by making an *excavation* not only in one of the tombs, but also in the exhausted wells, of which there are many in the neighbourhood of Athens.

* In this manner he finished his *view of Constantinople*, taken from an eminence above the canal; working with his colours in the open air. His rival, Fauvel, was not in Athens during the time of our visit; a Frenchman equally renowned, for his talents as an artist, his researches as an antiquary, and his disinterested attention to all travellers, whether of his own or of any other nation.

CHAP. XIV.

ATHENS.

Excavations—Great Antiquity of the Athenian Wells—Curious inscription upon a terra-cotta *Lamp—Excursion to* Hymettus—*Temple of* Diana—*Monastery—Visit to the summit of the mountain—Plants—Panoramic Survey of the Country—Return to* Athens—*Singular Adventure that befel the Author—Description of the Ceremonies of the Bath, as practised by the Turkish and Grecian Women—Further observations in the* Acropolis—*Inscriptions—Specimen of* Cadmæan Characters—*Additional remarks upon the* Parthenon—*Effect of Sun set behind the Mountains of Peloponnesus.*

HAVING hired some Albanian peasants for the work, and obtained permission from the *Waiwode*, we began the examination of some of the wells. Mr. Cripps, in the meantime, superintended the excavation of a *tumulus* near the road leading to the *Piræeus;* but the difficulty of carrying on any undertaking of this kind, owing to the jealousy, not only of the Turks, but also of the Greeks, who always suppose that some secret hoard of gold is the object of research, renders it liable to continual interruption. After two days spent in opening the tomb, we had the mortification to find that it had been examined before; and we had good reason to believe that a knowledge of this circumstance was the sole ground of the easy permission we had obtained to begin the labour for the second time. In the examination of the wells, we succeeded better: but our acquisitions were as nothing compared with those which have since been made.* The reasons which induced the author to suspect that the cleansing of an old well would lead to the discovery of valuable antiquities were these; *first*, the wells of Greece were always the resort of its inhabitants; they were places of con-

* Particularly by Mr. Dodwell, and by Mr. Graham of Trinity College, Cambridge, son of sir James Graham, Bart. The latter of these gentlemen, in opening one of the wells, restored to the inhabitants of Athens, to their great joy, a very fine spring of water, which burst forth upon the removal of the rubbish by which the well was filled: the most valuable gift he could have made to a city where water is particularly scarce.

versation, of music, dancing, revelling, and almost every kind of public festivity; *secondly*, that their remote antiquity is evident from the following extraordinary circumstance. Over the mouth of each well has been placed a massive marble cylinder, nearly corresponding, as to its form, ornaments, height, and diameter, with the marble altars which are so commonly converted by the Turks into mortars for bruising their corn. A very entire altar of this shape is in the Cambridge collection of Greek Marbles.* These wells had no contrivance for raising water by means of a windlass, or even of the simple lever,† common over all the north of Europe, which is often poised by a weight at the outer extremity. The water rose so near to the surface, that it was almost within reach of the hand; and the mode of raising it was by a hand-bucket, with a rope of twisted herbs. Owing to the general use of this rope, and its consequent friction against the sides of the well, the interior of those massive marble cylinders has been actually grooved all round, to the depth of two or three inches: in some instances, transverse channels appear crossing the others obliquely, and to an equal depth. An effect so remarkable, caused in solid marble by its attrition with one of the softest substances, affords convincing proof that a great length of time must have elapsed before any one of those furrows in the stone could have been so produced; and that many ages would be requisite to form such channels in any number.

Having selected a dry well for our experiment, whose mouth was covered by a cylinder remarkably distinguished by this appearance, we removed a quantity of stones and rubbish, and found at the bottom a substratum of moist marle. In this humid substance (the original deposit of the water when the well was used) the quantity of *terra-cotta* vessels, lamps, pitchers, bottles, some entire, others broken, was very great. We removed not fewer than thirty-seven in an entire state, of various sizes and forms. They were chiefly of a coarse manufacture, without glazing or ornament of any kind; but the workmen brought up also the feet, handles, necks, and other parts of earthen vases of a very superior quality and workmanship: some of these

* Presented to the author by Bridges Harvey, esq. M. A. of Jesus College. It was brought from Delos.

† The lever is now used for some of the wells in Athens; but it seems probable that the use of this mechanical power among the modern Greeks was introduced by the Albanians.

were fluted, and of a jet black colour; others of a bright red, similar to those innumerable fragments of *terra cotta* found upon the site of all Grecian cities; especially in the outer *Ceramicus*,* and in the *sepulchres of Athens* since opened, as well as those of Italy and of Sicily. While this work was going on, a lamp was brought to us, without any information of the place where it was found, but of such singular beauty and interest, that the author would be guilty of an unpardonable omission if he neglected to insert its particular description: he has an additional motive for so doing: namely, the hope of being one day able to recover this curious relic; for its extraordinary perfection so much excited the cupidity of one of the Roman *formatori*, that having volunteered the troublesome and difficult task of packing up our antiquities when we were about to leave Athens, he availed himself of the opportunity to steal this lamp; and the theft was not discovered until the case, said by him to contain it, was opened upon its arrival in England. Possibly, therefore, as it may exist in some cabinet of Europe, the following account of it may hereafter lead to the knowledge of its situation; if it do not prove the cause of its destruction. It was of a black colour, like to our dark Wedgewood ware; when first offered to us, it seemed to be corroded and porous; but after it had imbibed a little oil, it appeared as perfect as if it had recently issued from the hands of the Athenian potter. In shape and size it resembled the generality of ancient *terra cotta* lamps; being of a circular form, and about three inches in diameter, with a protruding lip for the wick in one part of the circumference. Upon the top of this lamp, a lion was represented in an erect posture; the figure of the animal expressing all the energy and greatness of style peculiar to the best age of

* By collecting upon the spot these fragments of Grecian pottery, and comparing afterwards the fragments found upon the site of *one* ancient city with those discovered upon the site of *another*, a very marked difference of manufacture may be observed. The *Corinthians* seemed to have used a particularly heavy and coarse black ware; that of *Athens* was the lightest and most elegant; that of *Sicyon* the rudest and most ancient. The most perfect pottery of modern Greece is the earthen ware of *Larissa*, where it may be found almost equal in beauty to the ancient *terra cotta*. Mr. Cripps discovered at Athens, upon the outside of the city, fragments of the finest ancient vases, lying as in a quarry, and sufficient in quantity to prove that a very large establishment for the manufacture of *earthen ware* once existed upon the spot. As it remains there at this hour, it may assist in deciding the disputed position of the outer CERAMICUS. "*Fecit et Calcosthenes crudæ opera Athenis; qui locus ab officinâ ejus*, Ceramicos *appellatur*." Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. XXXV. c. 12. *L. Bat.* 1635.

sculpture. Within the circle at the bottom of the lamp was this inscription :

ΣΩΚΡΑΤ

ΗΣΕΧΕ

ΖΩΟΝ

SOCRATES·ACCEPT·THIS·ANIMAL

It seems, therefore, to have been originally one of those offerings called νεϱτίϱων ἀγάλματα by *Euripides*,* the *imagines*, or, as usually translated, *grata munera*, which the friends of a deceased person were wont to carry after the corpse during the funeral procession : and perhaps it was deposited in the grave of the most celebrated philosopher of the ancient world.

During the first days of November we continued our researches with the utmost diligence, both in making these excavations, and in endeavouring to find inscriptions which had escaped the notice of former travellers. Upon the third of this month we set out upon an excursion to HYMETTUS,† intending to visit the summit of the mountain. Having taken with us horses, a guide, and provisions for the day, we left Athens for this purpose at sunrise: Signor Lusieri being of our party. In our way we crossed the Ilissus; and again passing the *Stadium*, we visited a small Greek chapel toward the east, upon the top of a hill. This building was alluded to in the preceding chapter, as making the site of the temple of *Diana Agræa*, or *Agrotera*. We saw here the remains of columns of three distinct orders in architecture : the most ancient *Doric*, the *Ionic*, and the *Corinthian* ;

* Καὶ μὴν ὁϱῶ σὸν πατίϱα γεϱαιῷ ποδὶ
Στείχοντ' ὀκαδοῦς, τ' ἐν χεϱοῖν δάμαϱτι σῇ
Κόσμον φίϱοντας, νεϱτίϱων ἀγάλματα.
Euripid. in Alc. v. 612. p. 282. *Cantab.* 1694.

† "Many places in Greece preserve their ancient names: others retain them with a slight alteration; as *Elimbo*, for *Olympus*; *Lynkoura*, for *Parnassus*, from *Lycorea* the ancient city upon that mountain; others bear appellations imposed on them by the Venetians and Genoese: but no instance has occurred of a more singular metamorphosis in Grecian nomenclature than in the name of HYMETTUS. The Venetians, who called it *Monte Hymetto*, corrupted it into *Monte Matto* : *Matto* signifies *mad*; and the modern Greeks have chosen to translate the two words literally, by *Trelo-Vouni* 'the Mad mountain.'" *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

therefore it is rather the situation of the building, with reference to the course pursued by Pausanias,* than any specific part of the antiquities remaining, which may be relied upon, as denoting where this temple of Diana stood. After his visit to the GARDENS and the TEMPLE OF VENUS, (*in hortis*,) having mentioned the SHRINE OF HERCULES (which was called *Cynosárges*), and the LYCEUM, being still eastward of the STADIUM, he crosses the ILISSUS, in that part of it where it received the ERIDANUS; and entering AGRA, or EGRÆ,† immediately upon his arrival at the southern side of the river,‡ notices the TEMPLE OF DIANA AGROTERA. No part of this description seems to be involved in less uncertainty than his position of this edifice, which exactly corresponds with that of the Greek chapel now mentioned.

Hence we proceeded to the monastery of *Saliani*,§ upon Mount Hymettus. Chandler believed this to have been anciently renowned as the scene where the jealous *Procris* met her fate from the *unerring* dart of Diana, which she had given to her husband *Cephalus*.‖ A temple of Venus stood upon the spot; and near to it there was a fountain whose water was believed to conduce to pregnancy, and to an easy delivery. The modern superstition with regard to the fountain, which is close to the convent, confirmed his opinion in a manner that he does not appear to have noticed: the priest told him, that "*a dove* is seen to fly down from heaven, to drink of the water annually, at the feast of Pentecost." It is remarkable that an ignorant superstition should thus have selected the *bird* which was peculiarly sacred to *Venus:* and Chandler also adds, that the Greek women still repair to the monastery at particular seasons. Being earnest in the pursuit of antiquities, we neglected to attend, as we ought to have done, to the traditions of the inhabitants; but we found enough to convince us that this was the site of some ancient temple.

* Vid. Pausan. in Atticis, c. 19. p. 44. Edit. Kuhnii. *Lips.* 1696.

† Ἄγρα, καὶ Ἄγραι, χωρίον, ἑνικῶς καὶ πληθυντικῶς. Stephanus. Vid. Meurs. lib. de Populis Atticæ, ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. Antiq. vol. IV. p. 683. *L. Bat.* 1699.

‡ Διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν, χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον, καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. Pausan. c. 19. p. 45. *Lips.* 1696.

§ So we believed the name to be pronounced; perhaps corrupted from some derivative of Σαλεύω, *fluctuo*; the water here continually gushing forth. Wheler calls this place *Hagios Kyriani*; Chandler, *Cyriani*; and Stuart has written it, in his Map of Attica, *Monastery of Syriani*.

‖ See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 145. *Oxf.* 1776.

We observed in the church of the monastery several Ionic columns; also the shaft of a pillar of granite; and at the fountain we saw the head of a bull, or of a cow,* sculptured upon a white marble *Soros*, now used as a cistern. This monastery is visible from Athens. The water from the fountain falls into the Ilissus. We found here a slab of white marble, with an inscription; the stone had been brought from some ruins near another convent, higher up than the monastery, and upon an opposite eminence toward Athens. Our guide wished much to conduct us thither; but we postponed going, in order to copy this inscription, until it was too late; as we wished to reach the summit of Hymettus before noon, that we might there estimate the temperature of the atmosphere, and also avail ourselves of the clearness and serenity of the weather for other observations. From the distant view we had of those ruins, added to the description given of them, there seemed to be a ground-plot and foundation as for a temple. This marble, which had been brought from the spot, will of course render the place worthy the examination of future travellers. The subject of the inscription relates to the genealogy of some family. We have since found that it has been already published by Chandler, who takes no notice of the place where it was originally discovered; but as it may be consulted in the works of that author, we shall not offer it a second time to the public.†

From this monastery it is practicable to ride the whole way to the summit of Hymettus; but we preferred walking, that we might the more leisurely examine every object, and collect the few plants in flower at this late season of the year.‡ We saw partridges in great abundance; and bees, in all parts of the mountain; not only at the monastery, where a regular apiary is kept, but also in such number dispersed and feeding about the higher parts of Hymettus, that the primeval breed§ may still exist among the numerous wild

* The Venus of *Egypt* and of *Phœnice* had this form. The image of Isis, according to Herodotus, (lib. ii.) had the form of a woman with the horns of *a cow* upon her head, as the Grecians represented IO. Wheler seems to allude to this piece of sculpture, (*See Journey into Greece, Book* VII. p. 411. *Lond.* 1682.) but he calls it "a sheep's head."

† Vid. Inscript. Antiq. p. 64. ΔΑΔΟΥΚΟ, κ. τ. λ.

‡ Our specimens were all lost in the wreck of the Princessa merchantman; but Wheler has given a catalogue of the plants collected by him, in the month of February, upon this mountain. *See Journey into Greece, Book* VI. p. 414. *Lond.* 1682.

§ The Ancients believed that bees were first bred here, and that all other bees were but colonies from this mountain.

stocks which inhabit the hollow trees and clefts of the rocks. Their favourite food, the *wild Thyme* (ἐρπυλλον, *Thymus Serpyllum, Linn.*) in almost every variety, grows abundantly upon the mountain, together with *Salvia pomifera* and *Salvia verbascum;* and to this circumstance may be owing the very heating quality of the honey of Hymettus. The powerful aromatic exhalation of these plants fills the air with a spicy odour: indeed, this scented atmosphere is a very striking characteristic of Greece and of its islands, but it peculiarly distinguishes the mountains of Attica. The θύμον of Theophrastus and Dioscorides was used as incense in the temples. We could hear nothing of the silver mines* mentioned by Strabo, where the best honey of Hymettus was found. The ascent was truly delightful; the different prospects varying in extent and magnificence, as we pursued a devious track among the rocks, in our way upwards to the top of the mountain. We reached the summit about twelve o'clock: there was no wind, and the sky was without a cloud. We had some difficulty to find a shaded situation for the thermometer: however, the difference amounted only to three degrees of Fahrenheit, whether the scale remained in the shade, or exposed to the sun's rays. The mercury stood at 48° in the former situation, and it rose only to 51° in the latter; affording sufficient proof of the mild climate of Attica, in this

* "The Athenians, we are informed, obtained copper from Colone, close to Athens; where Sophocles has laid the scene of one of his most beautiful plays. Silver was procured from Laurium, and was the metal in general circulation: there were ten different coins of silver, from the tetradrachm to the quarter of an obulis. Lead was purchased from the Tyrians: Τὸν μολύβδον τὸν ἐκ τῶν Τυρίων, are the words of Aristides. II. *De Cur. Rei Fam.* 396. Gold was so scarce, at one time, in Greece, that the Lacedæmonians could find none to gild the face of the statue of Apollo at Amyclæ, (οὐκ εὑρίσκοντες ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι χρύσιον, *Athen.*, 232.) and therefore sent to Lydia for it. There was an abundance when the Temple of Apollo was plundered by the Phocian tyrants, and when Alexander had pillaged, says Athenæus, the treasures of Asia; lib. vi. 231. It is worth remarking, that we can tell pretty nearly the century in which the mines of silver of Laurium (which was about thirty miles S. E. from Athens) began to fail; at least according to the opinion of the Ancients. Thucydides mentions them in two places of his history, (Book ii. and vi.:) in the sixth book he talks of the revenue derived from the silver mines. It is the object of a treatise of Xenophon to recommend the Athenians to work the silver mines of Laurium (περὶ πόρων.) But what do Strabo and Pausanias say? The latter asserts that they had failed. Strabo's words are decisive as to this point, (Book ix.) "The silver mines in Attica, formerly celebrated, are now deficient. The men who work there, submitting again to the operation of fire the former refuse and scoria (σωρίαν,) find silver still in it: the Ancients having used their furnaces without any skill." The ground about Laurium is covered frequently, for many yards, with great quantities of scoria, lying in the road." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

warm temperature upon the summit of its loftiest mountain, in the beginning of the month of November.* Even upon this elevated spot, and upon the naked surface of the limestone, without an herb or a drop of water to allure it, one of the wild bees came and settled upon the scale of the thermometer, as if curious to inquire what singular intrusion interrupted its aërial solitude. We did not perceive any remarkable difference between the appearance of this insect upon Hymettus, and the common bee of our own country except that we considered the former as rather smaller, and of a more golden colour. Lusieri had already placed himself upon a sloping part of the summit facing the south, and was beginning to delineate the wonderful sight he beheld. From the spot where he was seated, a tremendous chasm of Hymettus, awfully grand, extended, in one wide amazing sweep, from the summit to the base of the mountain. Into this precipitous ravine there projected from its sides the most enormous crags and perpendicular rocks. These he had chosen to be the fore-ground of his sublime picture; the eye looking down into an abyss which at the bottom opened into a glorious valley, reaching across the whole promontory of Attica, from sea to sea. All beyond was the broad and purple surface of the Ægean, studded with innumerable islands, and shining with streaks of the most effulgent light. While he was engaged in his delightful employment, we undertook a task of less difficulty; namely, that of making a *panoramic* survey of all the principle objects; noting their situation according to the points of a mariner's compass, which we placed upon the upmost pinnacle of the mountain; beginning with the north point, and proceeding regularly from left to right, so as to complete an entire circumference whose centre is the summit of Hymettus.

Panoramic Survey *of* Attica, *the* Ægean Sea, *&c. from the Summit of* Hymettus.

North.

Parnes mountain, and the valley east of Athens, leading to Pentelicus: the highest point of *Parnes* bearing due *north*.

* It may perhaps be asked why the author did not carry a *barometer*, rather than a *thermometer*, to the summit of Hymettus:—simply, because such instruments are not found in any part of the Turkish empire: nor indeed anywhere else, in perfection, except in England.

North North-East.

A very high mountain covered with snow, of a conical form, but at so great a distance that we could not decide with certainty as to its name: possibly it may have been the mountain mentioned by Wheler, belonging to *Eubœa*, and now called *Delphi*;* but the bearing, according to his observation, was *north and by east*. Nearer to the eye, in this direction, (N. N. E.) is one of the mountains of EUBŒA, extending from *north and by east*, to *north-east*; that is to say, the mountainous chain of *Negropont*.

North-East.

PENTELICUS mountain, intercepting, with its summit, the visible range of the Negropont mountains.

North-East and by East.

The range of EUBŒAN MOUNTAINS (*olim*, *Ocha Mons*) extending to *east and by south*: the Sea of MARATHON intervening in front.

East.

The SOUTHERN PROMONTORY OF EUBŒA, called *Caristo*.

East and by South.

The strait between ANDROS and EUBŒA.

East South-East.

The SUMMIT OF ANDROS.

South-East and by East.

TENOS: nearer to the eye, and nearly in the same direction, the north point of *Macronisi*, or ISLE OF HELENA, extending thence toward *south-east and by south*.

South-East.

GYAROS, now called *Jura*; and half a point more towards the south, MYCONE and the DELIAN ISLES.

South-East and by South.

Eastern point of *Zia*; CEOS; this island concealing all the *Cyclades* excepting CYTHNUS, now *Thermia*.

* See Journey into Greece, p. 410. *Lond.* 1682.

South South-East.

Island of COES, now *Zia.*

South and by East.

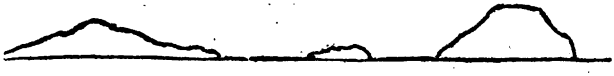
CYTHNUS, now *Thermia*, appearing beyond the southern point of COES; and nearer to the eye, a mountain extending across the promontory of Attica from sea to sea, being opposed to HYMETTUS, (perhaps that called *Elimbo.*) Still nearer, beneath the view, the GREAT VALLEY which lies between the two mountains, composing the three grand features of all ATTICA, south-east of Athens.

South.

CAPE SUNIUM, bearing into the sea, in a line from *north-east* to *south-west.*

South and by West.

A lofty cape, with lower islands so much resembling the Cape and Precipice of SAMOS, with the *Samian Boccaze*, and the Isles of *Fourni* and *Nicaria*, that nothing but its situation by the compass could convince us to the contrary. The rude sketch made upon the spot will give an idea



of its appearance. We know not the name either of the cape or of the islands. The distance in which they are here viewed was the utmost stretch of the *radius* of our circle: they were seen only by the outline of their forms, thus interrupting the horizontal line of the sea. The only land in this direction, as laid down in D'Anville's Chart of the Archipelago, that could have been visible to us, is the Island of *Falconéra; Milo* being to the east of the south. Nearer to the eye, in the same direction, we saw the island of *St. George D'Arbori.*

Between South and by West, and South South-West.

An island at an immense distance, perhaps *Caravi:* it had some resemblance to Patmos; and our stupid guide insisted upon it that it was actually Patmos; calling it also Αγιανίσι "*Holy Land.*"

South South-West.

The open sea. Close to the eye, upon the coast of Attica, a large mountain, forming, on this side of Hymettus, a profound and magnificent valley with precipitous sides.

South-West and by South.

An island somewhat resembling Amorgos in its shape, but quite in a different situation, appearing beyond the south-eastern point of *Hydra ;* perhaps *Belo Poulo.*

South-West.

ARISTERA, now called *Hydra :* extending in a line from the *south-east* towards the *north-west.*

South-West and by West.

The SCYLLÆAN PROMONTORY, and entrance to the GULF OF ARGOS ; *a small island* lying in the mouth of it; the whole territory of ARGOLIS being visible in this direction ; its mountainous ridges exhibiting vast irregular undulations, like the boiling of a troubled sea.

West South-West.

SINUS SARONICUS : the ISLAND OF ÆGINA, backed by the mountains of EPIDAURUS.

West and by South.

More distant summits of PELOPONNESUS, even to *Arcadia,* seen between two small islands north-west of *Ægina.*

West.

Smaller isles, and rocks, towards the north of the Soronic Gulf: and distant mountains of Peloponnesus.

West and by North.

PHALERUM ; and beyond it, the south-west part of the island of SALAMIS.

West North West.

PIRÆRUS ; the island of SALAMIS ; the ACROPOLIS OF CORINTH, backed by very lofty mountains, separating ARCADIA and ACHAIA, in the interior of PELOPONNESUS.

North-West and by West.

MEGARA ; MONS GERANEA ; and other higher mountains more distant.

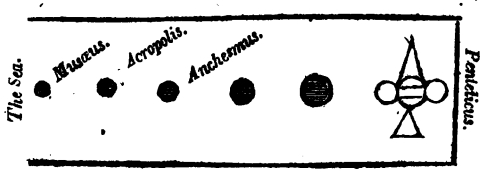
North-West.

ELEUSIS, backed by a mountainous territory: the extremity of the SARONIC GULF: and in this direction the point of *Ægaleos* is visible were Xerxes is supposed to have sat during the battle of *Salamis*.

Then succeeds the Plain of Athens, covered, on the northern side, by extensive olive plantations; afterwards, still nearer to the eye, appear the ACROPOLIS and CITY OF ATHENS, and all the ATHENIAN PLAIN at the foot of Hymettus. ATHENS, as viewed from this situation, makes a most beautiful appearance: a description of it may be written as from a model. It lies in a valley, having PHALERUM and THE SEA to the *west*; MOUNT PENTELICUS to the *east*; the mountainous range of PARNES, or *Nozia*, to the *north*; and HYMETTUS upon the *south*. In the plain of this fine valley, thus surrounded by vast natural ramparts, there are other very remarkable geological features. A series of six insular mountain rocks, of *breccia*, surmounted by *limestone*, rise in the plain in very regular succession, from the *east* toward the *west*; (that is to say, from *Pentelicus* toward the *sea*;) gradually diminishing in that direction. The *Hill of Musæus* is the *last* of the succession; that is to say, it is the *sixth* in the series towards *Phalerum*. The *Acropolis of Athens* stands upon the *fifth*, or the *last but one*, towards the sea. The *fourth* is the lofty rock called *Mount Anchesmus*; and this rock, by some convulsion of nature, has been separated into two parts: further towards the east are *three* other, carrying on the series towards *Pentelicus*.* On the northern

* No person will accuse an author of being prolix, who endeavours to make his readers familiar with this interesting territory, by every possible mode of description. The most youthful student may be taught to model it with the greatest facility. By placing three books on a table, in form of a Greek Π, he will have the juxta-position of the three mountains, *Parnes*, *Pentelicus*, and *Hymettus*, and the *sea* in front upon the open side; then if he places six counters, or pebbles, diminishing in size in a right line within the area, between the two parallel sides, in this manner, he will bear in his memory a key to the topography of Athenian history, which will not easily be lost.

Parnes.



HYMETTUS.

side of the city is a range of olive plantations: between these and Hymettus, in the plain, occurs the chain of rocks, extending east and west; the south side of the plain, nearer to the base of Hymettus, wears a barren aspect,* broken by *mountainets*, hills, and rocks. Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus, are all barren, and, from this elevation, seem to be destitute of trees.

North-West and by North.

Exceeding high mountains of BŒOTIA and Phocis; one nearer to the eye, shaped like a *saddle*, forming a range with *Parnes* from E. N. E. to W. S. W. In this direction, and immediately under the view, lies the double-rock of *Anchesmus*, in the Athenian Plain, to the east of Athens. With regard to the distant mountains, they are probably HELICON, now *Zagara*, and CITHÆRON, now *Elatæa*. Wheler lays the first N. W. by W.; and the second, he says, begins N. W. by W. and ends N. W. by N.

North North-West.

Another distant and very lofty mountain, appearing with its blue peak towering behind the range of Mount *Parnes*, and possibly PARNASSUS.

* "On the road from *Marathon* to the monastery of *Pentelicus*, and on that from *Keratia* back to *Athens*, we passed some spots which in beauty of natural scenery might vie with any thing we had seen in Greece. The Athenians were very partial to a country life; (*Thucydides*, lib. ii.;) and many of these places, like that beautiful village of Cephissias, seven miles to the north of Athens, which Aulus Gellius has described, were the favourite abodes of the Athenians, whenever they could retire from the noise of the popular assemblies at Athens. It does not, however, appear that they attended much to the agriculture of the country: 'Every man,' says Xenophon, (*de Œcon.*) 'may be a farmer; no art or skill is requisite:' 'a very good proof,' observes Hume, 'that agriculture was not much understood.' When we consider this, and the natural sterility of Attica, which the ancients so often mention, (*see the Schol. on Olym. 7. of Pindar*,) we cannot but wonder at the great population which the country was able to maintain. Heyne says barley was indigenous in the north of Attica: and the olive tree, which abounds in this country, might have contributed to the support of great numbers; it being used anciently, as it is now, for a common article of daily food. But immense supplies of corn were constantly imported from Sicily, Egypt, and the Euxine. Attica was not able to maintain her inhabitants; these we may calculate, in the year 312, A. C. at 524,000; supposing the text in Athenæus to be not corrupted. There were 21,000 citizens, and 10,000 strangers: allowing to each of these a wife and two children, we have the number of free persons, 124,000, and adding the slaves, (*according to Athenæus*,) 400,000, we find 524,000 to be the aggregate. Attica contained 855 square leagues." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

North and by West.

Part of the range of PARNES; and, nearer to the eye, the fine valley or plain of Athens.

North.

Has been already noticed. The circle is therefore here completed.

The desire of leaving a memorial of the visit one has paid to any memorable spot, seems to be so natural, that however the practice may have been derided, the most eminent travellers, in common with the most insignificant, have left their names in some conspicuous situation: those of Wheler and Spon have been observed upon the walls of the temple of Theseus; that of Shaw remains in the Franciscan convent at Jerusalem; that of Pococke at Thebes, in Upper Egypt; and that of Hasselquist upon the principal pyramid of Memphis. Upon the summit of Hymettus no such inscriptions appeared; but the naked surface of the limestone seemed to be so well calculated for their preservation, that we felt a reluctance to return without carving our names, as indelibly as our time would allow, upon the top of the mountain. Having done this, we descended once more toward the convent, where we arrived late in the evening, and immediately proceeded to Athens.

The following day was attended by a singular adventure. We had agreed to spend the greater part of that day with Lusieri, among the antiquities of the citadel; and for this purpose Mr. Cripps accompanied him to the Acropolis soon after breakfast. The author followed toward noon. About half-way up the steep which leads to the *Propylæa*, he heard a noise of laughter and of many clamorous voices, proceeding from a building situated in an area upon the left hand, which had the appearance of being a public bath. As it is always customary for strangers to mingle with the Mahometans in such places without molestation, and as it had been the author's practice to bathe frequently for the preservation of his health, he advanced without further consideration toward the entrance, which he found to be covered with a carpet hanging before it. Not a human creature was to be seen without the bath, whether Turk or Greek. This was rather remarkable; but it seemed to be explained in the numbers who were heard talking within.

As the author drew nigh unto the door of the building, the voices were heard rather in a shriller tone than usual; but no suspicion entering into his mind, as to the sort of bathers which he would find assembled, he put aside the carpet, and stepping beneath the main dome of the bagnio, suddenly found himself in the midst of the principal women of Athens, many of whom were unveiled in every sense of the term, and all of them in utter amazement at the madness of the intrusion. The first impulse of astonishment entirely superseded all thought of the danger of his situation: he remained fixed and mute as a statue. A general shriek soon brought him to his recollection. Several black female slaves ran toward him interposing before his face napkins, and driving him backward toward the entrance. He endeavoured, by signs and broken sentences, to convince them that he came there to bathe in the ordinary way; but this awkward attempt at an apology converted their fears into laughter, accompanied by sounds of *Hist! Hist!* and the most eager entreaties to him to abscond quickly, and without observation. As he drew back, he distinctly heard some one say in Italian if he were seen he would be shot. By this time the negro women were all around him, covering his eyes with their hands and towels, and rather impeding his retreat, by pushing him blindfolded toward the door; whence he fled with all possible expedition. As the sight of women in Turkey is rare, and always obtained with difficulty, the reader may perhaps wish to know what sort of beings the author saw, during the short interval that his eyes were open within the bagnio; although he can only describe the scene from a confused recollection. Upon the left hand, as he entered, there was an elderly female, who appeared to be of considerable rank, from the number of slaves sumptuously clad and in waiting upon her. She was reclined, as it is usual in all Turkish baths, upon a sort of *divan*, or raised floor, surrounding the circular hall of the bath, smoking and drinking coffee. A rich embroidered covering of green silk had been spread over her. Her slaves stood by her side upon the marble pavement of the bath. Many other women of different ages were seated, or standing, or lying, upon the same *divan*. Some appeared coming in high wooden clogs from the *sudatories* or interior chambers of the bath, toward the *divan*: their long hair hanging dishevelled and straight, almost to the ground: the temperature of those cells had flushed their faces with a warm glow, seldom seen upon the pale and faded

cheeks of the Grecian and Turkish women. Some of them were very handsome. Within the centre of the area, immediately beneath the dome, the black women and other attendants of the bath were busied heating towels, and preparing pipes and coffee for the bathers; according to the custom observed when men frequent these places.

The cause of this mistake remains now to be explained. This bath was not peculiarly set apart for the use of females: it was frequented also by the male inhabitants; but at stated hours the women have the privilege of appropriating it to their use; and this happened to be their time of bathing; consequently the men were absent. Upon such occasions, the Greek and Turkish women bathe together: owing to this circumstance, the news of the adventure was very speedily circulated over all Athens. As we did not return until the evening, the family with whom we resided, hearing of the affair, began to be uneasy, lest it had been brought to a serious termination; well knowing that if any of the *Arnaouts*, or of the Turkish guard belonging to the citadel, had seen a man coming from the bath while the women were there, they, without hesitation or ceremony, would have put him instantly to death: and the only reason we could assign for its never being afterwards noticed was, that however generally it became the subject of conversation among the Turkish females of the city, their mahometan masters were kept in ignorance of the transaction.

We remained in the citadel during the rest of the day: not only to avoid any probable consequences of this affair, but also that we might once more leisurely survey the interesting objects it contains; and, lastly, have an opportunity of seeing, from the Parthenon, the sun setting behind the Acropolis of Corinth; one of the finest sights in all Greece.

It was mentioned in the preceding Chapter,* that the frieze of the *Erecthéum*, and of its porticoes, consists of a bluish-gray limestone, resembling slate; and that the tympanum of the pediment is likewise of the same stone; but the rest of the temple is of marble. Perhaps this kind of limestone was introduced into those parts of the building intended to contain inscriptions; because the letters, when cut, being of a different colour from the polished stone, would thereby be rendered the more conspicuous. A circumstance which renders this probable, is, that inscriptions are often found upon this kind of limestone, among the remains of buildings con-

structed of marble. The author found the following inscription this day, in the Acropolis, upon a blue, slate-like limestone :

ΠΟΛΥΛΛΟΣΠΟΛΥΛΛΙΔΟΥΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ
ΕΙΚΟΝΑΤΗΝΔΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ
ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΗΝΘΝΗΤΟΥΣΩΜΑΤΟΣΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

The name written in the first line, *Polyllus*, seems to have been inscribed beneath the statue (*image*) of a person, who belonged to one of the δῆμοι of Attica. Παιανιεὺς δῆμος that is to say, *Pœansensis populus* ; for in the verses which follow, we read, that "*Polystratus raised this representation—his own brother ; an immortal memorial of a mortal body.*" If the statue were of white marble, the blue limestone placed below it may have been selected as better adapted for the purpose of adding the inscription.

We also copied an inscription of the Roman times, relating to "*Pammenes the son of Zeno of Marathon,*" who is mentioned as Priest; but it is in a very imperfect state :

ΜΟΣΟΕΛΙΕΩΜΙΙΙΚΑΙΣ....ΓΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΤΡΑ.....ΥΝΤΟΣ..ΠΤ
ΤΑΣΠΑΜΜΕΝΟΤΣΤΟΥΣΗΝΩΝΟΣΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥΙΕΡΕΩΣΘΕΑΣ

ΜΗΣΕΚΑΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΣΟΥΗΡΟΣΕΠΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΕΠΙΠΕΡΕΙΑΣΑΘΗ
ΠΟΛΙΑΔΟΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΣΤΗΣΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΑΛΑΙΕΩΣΟΥΓΑΤ..

Afterwards, Lusieri showed to us an inscribed marble which he had been ordered to send to England with the spoils of the Parthenon ; but as the author does not know whether it met with the fate of a large portion of the sculpture in Ceigo Bay, ultimately reached its destination, he will subjoin the copy he made of this Inscription upon the spot, because it is one of the most ancient that have been found in Greece. It is written in what are called *Cadmæan* letters ; recording the names of certain Athenians and their tribes. The double vowels were not in general use before the Archonship of Euclid in the ninety-fourth Olympiad. Instead of Ξ we have here ΧΣ as in ΤΙΜΟΧΣΕΝΟΣ. The forms also of the *Gamma*, *Lambda*, and *Sigma*, are most ancient ; they are thus written Λ, V, and Σ. The H is used for the aspirate, as in ΗΙΠΟΘΟΝΤΙΔΟΣ. In other respects, as it is merely a list of names, this is all which may be here requisite for its illustration.

ΕΡΙ . . ΡΕΥΣ	. . . . ΣΤΡ .
ΠΑΥΣΑΔΕΞΙ	ΤΡ . . ΑΝ . . .
ΦΙΝΙΠΠΙΔΕΣ	ΕΛ . . ΒΑ . . .
ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΔΟΣ	ΙΛΕΣ
ΝΥΝΟΜΕΔΕΥ	
ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΣ	ΟΝ . . . . .
ΝΥΚΙ . Ο .	ΕΛ
ΑΝΑ . Ι . ΙΟΣ	ΧΑΕ
ΑΕΝΕΚΛΕΣ	ΔΕΜΟΣΤΡΑΤ
ΦΡΥΝΙΚΟΣ	ΚΕΛ . ΟΠΙΔΕΙ
ΗΙΠΟΘΟΝΤΙΔΟΣ	ΛΥΚΕΝ . . . .
ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΣ	ΤΙΜΟΣ . . Ι . . ΛΕ
ΣΚΥΡΟΚΛΕΣ	ΣΟΙΛΙΥΤΙ . .
ΧΑΡΙΑΣ	ΛΕΟΚΔ . . . .
ΕΥΑΛΛΕΙΟΣ	
ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΑΙΑΙ . . . .
ΘΡΑΣΥΜΑΧΟΣ	ΑΛΑΥΚΛ . . .
ΦΑΝΙΑΣ	ΟΡΑΣΟΝ
ΚΑΛΛΙΚΙΕΣ	ΑΝΤΙΦΟ
ΕΧΕΟΠΙΑΔΕΣ	ΑΝΤΙΟΦ
ΑΙΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ	ΕΙ . ΙΤΕΛΙΔ
ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ	ΕΥΘΥ . . ΔΧΟ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΟΣ	ΝΙΚΙΠΠΟ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΔΕΣ	
ΑΜΕΙΝΟΚΤΕΣ	Ε
ΑΙΣΧΙΝΕΣ	Ν . Ε . . .
ΠΑΝΤΑΚΛΕΣ	Λ . Σ . . .
ΧΑΡΙΔΕΜΟΣ	ΣΟΧΣΟΙΑΛ
ΤΙΜΟΧΣΕΝΟΣ	
ΑΝΤΙΦΑΝΕΣ	ΑΥΠΙΚ
ΕΜΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣ	
ΠΑΝΤΑΚΛΕΣ	ΔΕΧΜΟΣ
ΑΛΝΟΔΕΜΟΣ	ΜΝΕΑΘΡΑΣ
ΑΡΧΙΑΣ	ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΙΔΕΣ
ΕΝΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙ	ΗΕΙ ΦΙΛΟΣ
ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝ	ΟΝΕΣΙΜΟΣ
ΕΠΙΘΡΑΙΚΕΣ	ΗΙΕ . . . Ε
ΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΣ	ΑΝΑ . . .
ΕΜΠΥΛΟΙΣ	ΧΣΕΝΦΙ
ΕΛ . . . . ΙΑΣ	ΑΘΕΝ ΑΡΙΣ
ΕΝΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΙ	ΕΥΦΡΑΙΟΣ
ΠΟΛΥΜΝΕΣΤΟΣ	ΧΑΙΡΥΣ Ν
ΕΣΣΙΛΛΟΙ	ΠΟΣΕ . . . ΤΟΣ
ΠΑΥΣΙΑΣΙΣΣ	ΜΕΝΟ . . .
Α . Σ	ΣΤΡΑΤΟ

The other inscriptions which we collected here, and in the lower city, have been already published. Some of them are in Gruter; others may be seen either in Spon or in Chandler;* with the exception of one which we afterwards found in a school-room, near the celebrated *Temple of the Winds*. It was inscribed upon a marble bas-relief, representing a female figure seated, holding by the hand an old man who is standing before her. As this brief inscription will be the last we shall notice in Athens, it may be here introduced as a companion of those already given in this Chapter. The reader is referred to *Suidas* and *Harpocration* for an illustration of the word Αἰγιλιεύς. ÆGILLIA was one of the Attic δῆμοι and belonging to the tribe *Antiochis*.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣΜΕΙΞΙΑΔΟΥΑΡΧΙΠΠΗ

ΑΙΓΙΛΙΕΥΣΜΕΙΞΙΑΔΟΥ

The sun was now sitting, and we repaired to the *Parthenon*. This building in its entire state, either as a Heathen temple, or as a Christian sanctuary, was lighted only by the means of lamps: it had no windows; but the darkness of the interior was calculated to aid the Pagan ceremonies by one of the most powerful agents of superstition. The priests at Jerusalem have profited by a similar mode of construction for their pretended miracle of the "*holy fire*" at the *Tomb of the Messiah;* and the remains of many ancient crypts and buildings in Egypt and in Greece seem to prove that the earliest places of idolatrous worship were all calculated to obstruct rather than to admit the light. Even in its present dilapidated state, the *Parthenon* still retains something of its original gloomy character: it is this which gives such a striking effect to the appearance of the distant scenery, as it is beheld through the portal by a spectator from within, who approaches the western entrance. The *Acropolis of*

* The celebrated *Marmor Atheniense* has been, however, inaccurately edited by the last of these authors. It was lately found in a neglected state in the British Museum; and has since exercised the erudition and critical acumen of that accomplished scholar and learned antiquary, Richard Payne Knight, esq. As this marble was originally removed from *Acropolis* it may be proper here to add, that it preserves a record of a very interesting nature; nothing less than the name of the architect who built the *Erectheum;* namely, PHILOCLES OF ACHARNÆ. This part of the inscription was recovered by W. Wilkins, esq. who communicated the circumstance to the author.

Corinth is so conspicuous from within the nave, that the portal of the temple seems to have been contrived for the express purpose of guiding the eye of the spectator precisely to that point of view. Perhaps there was another temple, with a corresponding scope of observation, within the Corinthian citadel. Something of this nature may be observed in the construction of old Roman Catholic churches, where there are crevices calculated for the purpose of guiding the eye, through the darkness of the night, toward other sanctuaries remotely situated: whether for any purpose of religious intercourse, by means of lights conveying signs to distant priests of the celebration of particular solemnities, or as beacons for national signals, it is not pretended to determine. As evening drew on, the lengthening shadows began to blend all the lesser tints, and to give breadth and bolder outline to the vast objects in the glorious prospect seen from this building; so as to exhibit them in distinct masses: the surface of the *Sinus Saronicus*, completely land-locked, resembled that of a shining lake, surrounded by mountains of majestic form, and illustrious in the most affecting recollections. There is not one of those mountains but may be described in the language of our classic bard as "breathing inspiration." Every portion of territory comprehended in the general survey has been rendered memorable as the scene of some conspicuous event in Grecian story; either as the land of genius, or the field of heroism; as honoured by the poet's cradle, or by the patriot's grave; as exciting the remembrance of all by which human nature has been adorned and dignified; or as proclaiming the awful mandate which ordains that not only talents and virtue, but also states and empires, and even the earth itself, shall pass away. The declining sun, casting its last rays upon the distant summits of Peloponnesus, and tinging with parting glory the mountains of Argolis and Achaia, gave a grand but mournful solemnity both to the natural and the moral prospect. It soon disappeared. Emblematical of the intellectual darkness now covering these once enlightened regions, night came on shrouding every feature of the landscape with her dusky veil.

CHAP. XV.

PELOPONNESUS.

Departure from Athens for the Peloponnesus—*Extraordinary talents of a* Calmuck *Artist*—*Further account of the* Piræeus—*the* "long walls"—*Tomb of* Themistocles—*its situation*—*remains of this monument*—*Objects visible in passing the Gulf*—Ægina—*Temple of* Jupiter Panhellenius—*Antiquities near to the port*—Anchestri *isle*—*ignorance of the Pilot*—Epiâda—*Greek Medals*—Arbutus Andrachne—*Appearance of the country*—Liguriò—Conâk, *or inn*—Coroni—Cathedra *of a Greek Theatre*—Hieron—*Mountains*—*Temple of* Æsculapius—Stadium—*Architectural* Terra-cottas—*Temple of the* Coryphæan Diana—*Temple of* Apollo—*Circular Edifice*—*Theatre of* Polycletus—*Epidaurian Serpent*—*Aspect of the* Coilon—*Perfect state of the Structure*—*Dimensions and detail of the parts*—*Journey to* Nauplia—Lessa—*Dorian and Egyptian Antiquities*—Arachnæus Mons—Cyclopéa—Nauplia—*House of the consul*—*Turkish Gazette*—*Public Rejoicings*—Athletæ—Pyrrhica—*Population*—*Air*—*Commerce*—*Gipsies*—*characteristic features of Grecian cities*—Tiryns—*Celtic and Phœnician Architecture*—*Origin of the* Cyclopéan *style*—*History of* Tiryns—*character of its inhabitants.*

ON Thursday, November the fifth, we left Athens at sunrise, for the *Piræeus;* having resolved to sail to *Epidaurus;* and after visiting *Epidauria* and *Argolis*, to return through the northern districts of PELOPONNESUS, toward *Megara* and *Eleusis*. The governor of Athens had kindly commissioned a relation of his family, a most amiable and worthy Turk, to accompany us in the capacity of *Tchohadar;* a word which we shall not attempt to translate: it is enough to say that such was his title, and that he travelled with us as an officer who was to provide for us, upon all occasions, and to be responsible, by his authority, for our safety among the Albanians. Our *caïque* had remained at anchor since our arrival: the men belonging to her had been daily employed in repairing the sails and

rigging. *Lusieri* offered to accompany us as far as *Ægina;* having long wished for an opportunity of seeing that island; although rich in valuable antiquities, it had been strangely overlooked by almost every traveller, excepting Chandler. As he expected ample employment for his pencil, he was desirous of being also attended by one of the most extraordinary characters that has been added to the list of celebrated artists since the days of Phidias. This person was by birth a *Calmuck*, of the name of *Theodore;* he had distinguished himself among the painters at Rome, and had been brought to Athens to join the band of artists employed by our ambassador, over which Lusieri presided. With the most decided physiognomy of the wildest of his native tribes, although as much humanized in his appearance as it was possible to make him by the aid of European dress and habits, he still retained some of the original characteristics of his countrymen; and, among others, a true Scythian relish for spirituous liquor: by the judicious administration of brandy, Lusieri could elicit from him, for the use of his patron, specimens of his art, combining the most astonishing genius with the strictest accuracy and the most exquisite taste. *Theodore* presented a marvellous example of the force of natural genius unsubdued by the most powerful obstacles. Educated in slavery; trained to the business of his profession beneath the active cudgels of his Russian masters; having also imbibed with his earliest impressions the servile propensities and sensual appetites of the tyrants he had been taught to revere; this extraordinary man arrived in Athens like another *Euphranor*, rivalling all that the Fine Arts had produced under circumstances the most favourable to their birth and maturity. The talents of *Theodore*, as a painter, were not confined, as commonly is the case among Russian artists, to mere works of imitation: although he could copy every thing, he could invent also; and his mind partook largely of the superior powers of original genius. With the most surprising ability, he restored and inserted into his drawings all the sculpture of which parts only remained in the mutilated bas-reliefs and buildings of the Acropolis. Beside this, he delineated, in a style of superior excellence, the same sculptures.

according to the precise state of decay in which they at present exist.*

There are many ruins about the three ports, *Munychia*, *Phalerum*, and the *Piræeus;* and we may look to future excavations in their vicinity as likely to bring to light many valuable antiquities. The remains of the *long walls* which joined the *Piræeus* to Athens, (making of it a burgh similar to what *Leith* is with respect to Edinburgh,†) although very indistinct, yet may be traced sufficiently to ascertain the space they formerly included. These walls appear to have had different names (distinguishing them from the town walls of *Piræeus*) among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. By the former they were termed either Μακρὰ τεῖχη, the *long walls*, or Μακρὰ σκέλη, literally answering to a *nick-name* bestowed upon one of our kings of England, who was called *long-shanks*. We find them alluded to under this appellation by *Diodorus Siculus;* as a term whereby they are distinguished from the *Piræan walls*."‡ The Romans adopted a different appellation: by them the "*long-shanks*" were called the "*arms*," or "*long-arms*." They are thus mentioned by *Livy*,§ and by *Propertius*.‖ A corrupt mode of writing the word *Piræeus* seems to have been adopted by some authors, who express Πειραιεὺς by *Piræeus*. *Meursius*, upon the testimony of all the early Greek authorities, is decisive for the former reading.** In his admirable treatise upon this harbour and its antiquities, he has concentrated with wonderful erudition every thing that the ancients have left concerning its history. In its original state it had been an island, whence it received its name,†† like many later towns,‡‡ from its *fer-*

* See memorandum on the earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece, p. 5. *Lond.* 1811.

† *Edinburgh* exhibits a very correct model of a Grecian city: and with its Acropolis, town, and harbour, it bears some resemblance to *Athens* and the *Piræeus*.

‡ Συνέβαινε τὴν εἰρήνην, ὥστε ΤΑ ΜΑΚΡΑ ΣΚΕΛΗ, καὶ ΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΩΣ, περιελεῖν. Diod. Sic. lib. xiii ap. Meurs. Pir. Vid. Gronov. Thesaur. Gr. tom. V. p. 1932. *L. Bat.* 1699.

§ "Inter angustias semiruti muri, qui duobus *brachiis* Piræeum Athenis jungit." *Livius*, lib. xxxv. *ap Meurs. Pir. ut suprà.*

‖ "Inde ubi Piræi capient me littora portus,
Scandam ego Theseæ *brachia longa* viæ"
Propertius, lib. iii. *Eleg.* 20. ap. Meurs. ut suprà.

** Meursii, Piræeus, *passim*. Sic. Suidas, Stephanus, Hesychius, &c. &c.

†† Τὸν τε Πειραῖα, νησιάζοντα πρότερον, καὶ πέραν τῆς Ἀκτῆς κείμενον, οὕτως φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι. Strabon. Geog. lib. i. p. 86. *Oxon.* 1807.

‡‡ *Trajectum ad Mosam*, Maestricht in Brabant; *Trajectum ad Rhenum*, Utrecht, *Trajectum ad Manum*, Francfort upon Mœne; *Trajectum ad Oderam*, Francfort upon the Oder.

*ry.** Travellers have pretended to recognise the tomb of Themistocles. A square stone resting on a simple base, and destitute of any ornament, was all that denoted the place of his interment. It was near to the principal harbour,† of course that of *Piræeus*,‡ containing three smaller ports, as *docks*:§ for the port of *Phalerum*, within the *road* of that name, was very small.‖ Its situation seems to be so clearly designated by a passage in *Plutarch*, at the end of his life of Themistocles,** that it would seem almost impossible to mistake the spot. It was situated at the promontory of *Alcimus*, where the land, making an elbow, sheltered a part of the harbour; here, above the still water, might be seen the tomb. The base, although simple, as stated by *Pausanias*, is by *Plutarch* said to have been of no inconsiderable magnitude;†† and the tomb itself, that is to say, the *Soros*, resembled an altar placed thereon. Guided by this clew, we felt almost a conviction that we had discovered all that now remains of this monument. The promontory alluded to by *Plutarch* constitutes the southern side of the entrance to the harbor;‡‡ jutting out from the *Piræean* or *Munychian peninsula*, it forms with the opposite promontory of *Eëtion*, the natural mouth of the port, ly-

* Ἦν πρότερον ὁ Πειραιεὺς νῆσος· ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα εἴληφεν, ὑπὸ τὴν διαπερᾶν. "Primitùs insula erat Piræeus: unde et nomen accipit, *à trajectu*." *Suidas.*

† Καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. *Pausan. Attic.* p. 3. *Lips.* 1696.

‡ "Piræeus, qui et ipse, magnitudine, ac commoditate, primus." *Meurs Pir. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Gr.* tom. V. p. 1931. *L. Bat.* 1691.

§ It contained three ὅρμοι, or *docks*; the first called Κάνθαρος, from a hero of that name; the second Ἀφροδίσιον, from Ἀφροδίτη, or Venus, who had these two temples; the third Ζία, from *bread corn*, which was called by the Grecians ζειά. (*Potter's Arch.* vol. I. p. 43. *Lond.* 1751.) Scylax mentions its three ports: Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς λιμένας ἔχει τρεῖς. (*Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus*, p. 47. *L. Bat.* 1697.

"On the twenty-fourth of June we anchored in the convenient little harbour of the PIRÆUS, where the chief objects that call for one's attention are, the remains of the solid *fortifications of Themistocles*: the remains of the *moles* forming the smaller ports within the PIRÆUS; *two monuments* on the sea shore; and palpable vestiges of the *long walls* which connected the harbour with Athens, a distance of about four miles and a half." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

‖ "Cùm Phalero portu, *neque magno, neque bono*, Athenienses uterentur, hujus consilio triplex Piræei portus contiatus est." *Cornelius Nepos in Themistocles, ap. Gronov. Thesaur. Gr.* tom. V. p. 1934. *L. Bat.* 1699.

** Περὶ τὴν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλκιμον ἀκροτηρίου, πρόκειταί τις οἷον ἀγκών. καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντὸς. ᾗ τὸ ὑπόδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρεπίς ἐστιν εὐμεγέθης, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς, τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. Plutarch. in extremo Themist. tom. I. *Lond.* 1729.

†† Εὐμεγέθης.

‡‡ Voy. Barthel. "*Plan des Environs d'Athènes pour le Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis.*" Troisième edit. *à Paris*, 1790.

ing towards the west, that is to say, beyond the artificial piers whereby it was inwardly closed.* Here we landed; and found precisely the sort of base alluded to by the historian; partly cut in the natural rock, and partly an artificial structure; so that a person ascended to the *Soros*, as by steps, from the shore of the sea. Our position of the tomb may be liable to dispute: the reader, having the facts stated, will determine for himself. Of the *Soros* not a trace is now remaining.

As we sailed from the *Piræeus*, we soon perceived the *Acropolis of Corinth*, and, behind it, high mountains which were much covered by clouds, although the day was remarkably fine. We lost some time in the harbour, and were afterwards detained by calms. About three o'clock. P. M. we passed a small island, called *Belbina* by *D'Anville*.† About an hour before we had observed the thermometer, in the middle of the gulf: the mercury then stood at 68° of Fahrenheit. A mountain of very great elevation was now visible behind the lofty rock of the Corinthian Citadel, and at a great distance. Lusieri insisted upon its being *Parnassus;* and Theodore was of the same opinion. Judging from our position, it could not have been one of the mountains of *Peloponnesus*; and therefore, supposing it to have been situated either in *Ætolia* or *Phocis*, the circumstance alone is sufficient to show how little agreement our best maps have with actual observations, as to the relative position of places in Greece. *De L'Isle*‡ is, perhaps, in this respect, more disposed to confirm what is here written, than *D'Anville:* yet in neither of their maps of the country would a line drawn from the island we have mentioned through the *Acro-Corinthus*, reach the mountainous territories to the north of the Gulf of Corinth. Such a line, traced upon *D'Anville's* Map of Greece,§ would traverse the *Sinus Corinthiacus*, far to the south of all *Phocis* and the land of the *Locri Ozolæ;* and would only enter *Ætolia* near the mouths of the *Evenus* and *Achelœis* rivers. *D'Anville's* Chart of the Archipelago‖ is

* "Ut non tantum arte tutus, sed naturâ etiam esset." *Meursii Piræeus, ap. Gronov. Thes. Gr. tom.* V. *p.* 93. *L. Bat.* 1699.

† Its modern name is *Lavousa*, according to D'Anville's CHART of the Archipelago. Chandler considers the island of *Belbina* as lying toward the mouth of the Gulf. *See Trav. in Greece. p.* 11. *Oxf.* 1776.

‡ Græciæ Antiquæ Tabula Nova. *Paris, Oct.* 1707.

§ Published at *Paris* in 1762.

‖ Dated, *Paris, Oct.* 1756.

liable to the same *remarks;* we dare not call them *objections*, until they have been confirmed by other travellers. About five P. M. we were close in with ÆGINA: and as we drew near to the island, we had a fine view of the magnificent remains of the *Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius;* its numerous Doric columns standing in a most conspicuous situation upon the mountain *Panhellenius*, high above the north-eastern shore of the island, and rising among trees, as if surrounded by woods. This is the most ancient and the most remarkable ruin of all the temples in Greece: the inhabitants of *Ægina*, in a very remote age, maintained that it was built by *Æacus*. Chandler had given so copious a description of *Ægina*, and of this temple, that to begin the examination of the island again, without being able to make any excavations, we considered as likely to be attended with little addition to our stock of information; and almost as an encroachment upon ground already well occupied. We therefore resolved to continue our voyage as soon as we had landed Lusieri and the Calmuck.* Sailing round the north-western point of the island, we observed a very large *barrow*, upon the shore; this is noticed by Chandler† as the mound of earth (χῶμα) raised by *Telamon* after the death of *Phocus*, as it was seen by *Pausanias* in the second century.‡ Near to this mound there was a *thea-*

* We had good reason afterwards to repent of our folly in making this resolution; for although Chandler spent some time upon the island, it has, in fact, been little visited by travellers. Lusieri found here both medals and vases in such great number, that he was under the necessity of dismissing the peasants who had amassed them, without purchasing more than half that were brought to him; although they were offered for a very trifling consideration. The medals and the vases which he collected were of a very high antiquity. The medals were either in silver or lead; and of that rude globular form, with the *tortoise* on one side, and a *mere indentation* on the other, which is well known to characterize the earliest Grecian coinage; indeed, the art itself of coining money was first introduced by the inhabitants of the island. Of the *terra-cotta vases* which he collected, we afterwards saw several in his possession; they were small, but of the most beautiful workmanship; and as a proof of their great antiquity, it is necessary only to mention that the subjects represented upon them were *historical*, and the figures *black* upon a *red ground*. We have since recommended it to persons visiting Greece, to be diligent in their researches upon Ægina; and many valuable antiquities have been consequently discovered upon the island.

† Travels in Greece, p. 15. *Oxford*, 1776.

‡ Οὕτως ἐς τὸν κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας νύκτωρ, ἐποίει χῶμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν, καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ἔτι μένει. (Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 180. *Lips.* 1696.) In a preceding passage of the same chapter it is stated, that the tomb (τάφος) of *Phocus*, which is also called χῶμα, was near to the ÆACEUM. Παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον, Φώκου τάφος χῶμα ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ. The *Æacèum* was a *tetragonal peribolus* of white marble, in a conspicuous part of the city: Ἐν ἐπιφανέστατο δὲ τῆς πόλεως, τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκου λίθου.

tre, next in size and workmanship to that of the *Hieron* in *Epidauria*, built by *Polycletus:* and it had this remarkable feature, that it was constructed upon the sloping side of a *stadium* which was placed behind it; so that the two structures mutually sustained each other.* Afterwards, entering the harbour, we landed to view the two Doric pillars yet standing by the sea side; these may be the remains of the *Temple of Venus*, which stood near the port principally frequented;† and *Ægina*, even for small vessels, is elsewhere difficult of access, owing to its high cliffs and latent rocks.‡ We saw none of the inhabitants; but sent the *Tchohadar* in search of a pilot to conduct our *caïque* into the port of *Epidauria*. He returned with a man who pretended to have a perfect knowledge of the coast, and we took him on board; leaving the two artists, both of whom were already busied in drawing.

As we drew near to PELOPONNESUS, the mountains of *Argolis* began to appear in great grandeur. We passed along the northern shore of an island called by our mariners *Anchestri;* it was covered with trees.§ As the evening drew on, we discovered that our stupid pilot, notwithstanding all his boasting, knew no more of the coast than the *Casiot* sailors. As soon as fogs or darkness begin to obscure the land, the Greek pilots remain in total ignorance of their situation; generally losing their presence of mind, they either run their ships ashore, or abandon the helm altogether, and have recourse to the picture of some saint, supplicating his miraculous interference for their safety. It more than once happened to us, to have the responsibility of guiding the vessel without mariner's compass, chart, or the slightest knowledge of naval affairs. It may be supposed that under such circumstances an infant would have been found equally fit for the undertaking. This was pretty much the case upon the present occasion: we were close in with a lee

* Vid. Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 180. *Lips.* 1696.

† Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὁρμίζονται, ΝΑΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ. Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 179. *Lips.* 1696.

‡ Προσπλεῦσαι δὲ ΑΙΓΙΝΑ ἐς τὴ νήσων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπορωτάτη. πέτραι τε γὰρ ὄφαλοι περὶ πᾶσαν, καὶ κοιράδες ἀνεστήκασι. Pausan. Corinth. c. 29. p. 178. *Lips.* 1696.

§ The name of this island is written *Angistri* by D'Anville; and by Mr. Gell, in his valuable map of ARGOLIS: (*See Itin. of Greece*, pl. xxviii, *by W. Gell, esq. M. A. Member of the Society of Dilettanti. Lond.* 1810.) Chandler wrote it nearly as we have done, *Anchistre:* (*Trav. in Greece*, p. 200. *Oxf.* 1776.) He says it contained "a few cottages of Albanians."

shore: fortunately, the weather was almost calm; and our interpreter *Antonio*, by much the best seaman of a bad crew, had stationed himself in the prow of the *caïque*, and continued sounding as we drew nigh to the land. Presently, being close in with the shore, we discerned the mouth of a small cove; into which, by lowering our sails, and taking to the oars, we brought the vessel: and, heaving out the anchor, determined to wait there until the next morning.

When day-light appeared, we found ourselves in a wild and desert place, without sign of habitation, or any trace of a living being: high above us were rocks, and among these flourished many luxuriant evergreens. We did not remain to make farther examination of this part of the coast; but got the anchor up, and standing out to sea, bore away toward the south-west. We had not a drop of fresh water on board, but drank wine as a substitute, and ate some cold meat for our breakfast—the worst beverage and the worst food a traveller can use, who wishes, in this climate, to prepare himself for the fatigue he must encounter. Our pilot, being also refreshed with the juice of the grape, affected once more to recognise every point of land, and desired to know what port we wished to enter. Being told that we were looking out for the harbour of *Epidaurus*, or, as it is now called, ΠΙΔΑΥΡΟ, he promised to take the vessel safely in. It was at this time broad day-light, and we thought we might venture under his guidance; accordingly, we were conducted into a small port nearly opposite to *Anchestri*. Here we landed, at ten o'clock, A. M. and sent the *Tchohadar* to a small town, which the pilot said was near to the port, to order horses. We were surprised in finding but few ruins near the shore; nor was there any appearance to confirm what he had said of its being *Pidauro*: we saw, indeed, the remains of an old wall, and a marsh filled with reeds and stagnant water, seeming to indicate the former existence of a small inner harbour for boats that had fallen to decay. The air of this place was evidently unwholesome, and we were impatient to leave the spot. When the *Tchohadar* returned with the horses, he began to cudgel the pilot; having discovered that *Pidauro* was farther to the south-west; this port being called ΕΠΙΑΔΑ, pronounced *Epi-atha*, the Δ sounding like our TH, harsh, as in *thee* and *thou*. It is laid down in some Italian maps under the name of *Paida*. The pilot now confessed that he had never heard of such a port

as *Pidauro* in his life. As it would have been a vain undertaking to navigate any longer under such auspices, we came to the resolution of dismissing our *caïque* altogether. We therefore sent back the pilot to *Ægina;* ordering the good captain to wait there with his vessel for the return of Lusieri and the Calmuck: and promising him, if he conveyed them in safety to the *Piræeus*, to give him in addition to his stipulated hire, a silver coffee-cup, to be made by an Athenian silversmith, and to be inscribed with his name, as a token of our acknowledgments for the many services he had done for us. The poor man seemed to think this cup of much more importance than any payment we had before agreed to make; and we left him, to commence our tour in the PELOPONNESUS.

The road from the port to the town of EPIADA extends through olive-plantations and vineyards. The town itself is situated upon a lofty ridge of rocks, and was formerly protected by an old castle, still remaining. In consequence of our inquiry after ancient medals, several Venetian coins were offered to us: and the number of them found here may serve to explain the origin of the castle, which was probably built by the Venetians. But beside these coins, the author purchased here, for twenty piastres, a most beautiful silver tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, as finely preserved as if it had just issued from the mint; together with some copper coins of Megara. The Greek silver medals, as it is well known, are often covered with a dark surface, in some instances quite *black*, resembling *black varnish*: the nature of this investment perhaps has not been duly examined: it has been sometimes considered as a *sulphuret*: but the colour which sulphur gives to silver is of a more dingy nature, inclining to *gray;* the *black* varnish is a *muriat* of silver.* It may be decomposed by placing the medals in a boiling solution of potass; but antiquaries in general do not choose to have the dark varnish removed. All Greek silver coins are not thus discoloured; many of them retain, in the highest

* It once happened to the author to open a small case of silver medals that had been sunk in sea water. The medals had been separately enveloped in brown paper, which was now become dry. To his great surprise, he found every one of them covered with a fine impalpable powder, as white as snow. Placing them in a window, the action of the sun's rays turned this powder to a dark colour; when a brush was used to remove it, the silver became covered with a black shining varnish, exactly similar to that which covers the ancient silver coinage of Greece; and this proved to be a *muriat* of silver.

perfection, the natural colour and lustre of the metal: those only exhibit the appearance of a *black crust* or *varnish* which have been exposed to the action of a muriatic acid, either by immersion in sea water, or by coming into contact with it during the time that they have remained buried in the earth. As it had been our original intention to land at *Epidaurus*, to examine the remains of that city, so we determined now to go first to that port: but the people of *Epiâda* told us that there were scarcely any vestiges even of ruins there: that all the antiquities we should find consisted of a headless marble statue; (answering to the description given by Chandler;)* and that the remains of the *temple of Æsculapius*, whom they called 'Ασκλαπιος, were near to *Liguriò*. "There," said one of the inhabitants, "are the ruins of his temple; but the seat of his government and his palace were at Epidaurus (*Pidauro*,) although nothing now remains excepting a few broken pieces of marble." The person who gave us this information seemed to be possessed of more intelligence than it is usual to find among the Greeks: we therefore profited by his instructions, and set out for *Liguriò*.

The temperature on shore, this day at noon, was the same as it had been upon the preceding day in the middle of the gulf; that is to say, 68° of Fahrenheit. It was four o'clock P. M. before we left *Epiâda*. We noticed here a very remarkable mineral of a jet black colour, which at first sight seemed to be *coal*, but, upon further examination, it rather resembled *asphaltum*. It was very soft, and, in places where water had passed over it, the surface was polished. The specimens being lost, this is all the description of it we can now give. Our journey from *Epiâda* toward the interior of *Epidauria* led us all over the mountains, and through the most delightful valleys imaginable. In those valleys we found the *Arbutus Andrachne*, with some other species of the same genus, flourishing in the greatest exuberance, covered with flowers and fruit. The fruit, in every thing but flavour and smell, resembled large hautbois strawberries; we found the berries to be cooling and delicious, and every one of our party ate of them.† This shrub is found all over the Mediterranean: it attains to great perfection in Minorca: and

* Trav. in Greece, p. 221. *Oxf.* 1776. Chandler calls it "a maimed statue of bad workmanship."

† "Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fraga legebant."

from thence eastward as far as the coast of Syria it may be found adorning limestone rocks, otherwise barren, being never destitute of its dark green foliage, and assuming its most glorious appearance at a season when other plants have lost their beauty. The fruit is one entire year in coming to maturity; and when ripe, it appears in the midst of its beautiful flowers. The inhabitants of *Argolis* call this plant *Cückoomari:* in other parts of Turkey, particularly at Constantinople, it is called *Koomaria*, which is very near to its Greek name, Κόμαρος. It is the Ἀνδράχνη of Theophrastus.

We passed an ancient edifice; it was near to a windmill, in a valley toward the right of our road and at some distance from us. Nothing could exceed the grandeur of the scenery during the rest of our ride to *Liguriò*. On every side of us we beheld mountains reaching to the clouds; although we rode continually through delicious valleys, covered by cultivated fields, or filled with myrtles, flowering shrubs, and trees. Every fertile spot seemed to be secluded from all the rest of the world, and to be protected from storms by the lofty summits with which it was surrounded. A white dress, worn by the peasants, reminded us of the garments often seen upon ancient statues; and it gave to these delightful retreats a *costume* of the greatest simplicity, with the most striking effect. Lusieri had spoken in rapturous terms of the country he had beheld in *Arcadia;* but the fields, and the groves, and the mountains, and the vales of *Argolis*, surpassed all that we had imagined, even from his description of the finest parts of the PELOPONNESUS. To render the effect of the landscape still more impressive, shepherds, upon distant hills, began to play, as it were an evening service, upon their reed pipes; seeming to realize the ages of poetic fiction, and filling the mind with dreams of innocence, which, if it dwell any where on earth, may perhaps be found in these retreats, apart from the haunts of the disturber, whose "whereabout" is in cities and courts, amidst wealth, and ambition, and power. All that seems to be dreaded in these pastoral retreats, are the casual and rare visits of the Turkish lords; and, unfortunately for us, it was necessary that our arrival at *Liguriò* should be announced by one of their agents; namely, *Ibrahim* the *Tchohadar;* who, though a very excellent man in his way, had been brought up under a notion that Greeks and Albanians were a set of infe-

rior beings, whom it was laudable to chastise upon every occasion, and to whom a word should never be administered without a blow. It was nearly dark when we reached the town; if a long straggling village may bear this appellation. Ibrahim rode first, and had collected a few peasants around him, whom we could just discern by their white habits, assembled near his horse. In answer to his inquiries concerning provisions for the party, they replied, in a humble tone, that they had consumed all the food in their houses, and had nothing left to offer. Instantly, the noise of Ibrahim's lash about their heads and shoulders made them believe that he was the herald of a party of Turks, and they fled in all directions; this was "the only way," he said, "to make those misbegotten dogs provide any thing for our supper." It was quite surprising to see how such lusty fellows, any one of whom was more than a match for Ibrahim, suffered themselves to be horse whipped and driven from their homes, owing to the dread in which they hold a nation of stupid and cowardly mahometans. We should not have seen another *Ligurian*, if Antonio had not intercepted some of the fugitives, and pacified their fears, by telling them who the travellers really were; and that Englishmen would accept of nothing from their hands without an adequate remuneration. After this assurance, several times repeated, and a present being made to them of a few *parâs*, we were conducted to what is called a *Conâk*, or inn; but in reality a wretched hovel, where horses, asses, and cattle of every description, lodge with a traveller beneath the same roof, and almost upon the same floor. A raised platform about twelves inches high, forming a low stage, at one extremity of the building, is the part appropriated to the guests; cattle occupying the other part, which is generally the more spacious of the two. Want of sleep makes a traveller little fastidious where he lies down; and fatigue and hunger soon annihilate all those sickly sensibilities which beset men during a life of indolence and repletion. We have passed many a comfortable hour in such places; and when, instead of the *Conâk*, we were invited to the cleanly accommodation offered beneath the still humbler shed of an Albanian peasant, the night was spent in thankfulness and luxury.

Here, as at *Epiâda*, the coins which were brought to us, as ancient medals, were evidently Venetian; some of them had this legend, ARMATA·ET·MOREA· but without any date.

The *Ligurians*, like the inhabitants of *Epiâda*, amused us with traditionary stories of *Asclapius*, considering him as a great king who had once reigned in *Epidauria*. Immense plants of the *Cactus Ficus Indica* flourished about this place, We set out for the sacred seat of ÆSCULAPIUS, at sunrise. The ruins are situated at an hour's distance from *Ligurió*, at a place now called JERO, pronounced *Yéro*, which is evidently a corruption of Ἱερὸν (*sacra ædes*). Chandler converted this word *Jéro* into *Gérao*, which is remarkable, considering his usual accuracy. Our friend Mr. Gell, who was here after our visit to the spot, and has published a description and plan of the ruins,* writes it *Iero*, as being nearer to the original appellation. Circumstances of a peculiar nature have conspired to render these ruins more than usually interesting. The remains, such as they are, lie as they were left by the ancient votaries of *the god*: no modern buildings, not even an Albanian hut, has been constructed among them to confuse or to conceal their topography, as it generally happens among the vestiges of Grecian cities; the traveller walks at once into the midst of the consecrated *Peribolus*, and, from the traces he beholds, may picture to his mind a correct representation of this once celebrated *watering-place*—the *Cheltenham* of ancient Greece—as it existed when thronged by the multitudes who came hither for relief or relaxation. Until within these few years, every vestige remained which might have been necessary to complete a plan of the ancient enclosure and the edifices it contained.† The *Ligurians*, in the time of Chandler, remembered the removal of a *marble chair* from the theatre, and of statues and inscriptions which were used in repairing the fortifications of *Nauplia*, and in building a mosque at *Argos*.‡ The discovery of a single *marble chair*, either within or near to almost every one of the celebrated theatres of Greece, is a circumstance that has not been sufficiently regarded by those who are desirous to illustrate the plan of these ancient structures. We afterwards found a relic of this kind at *Chæronea*, near to the theatre; whence it had only been moved to form part of the furniture of a

* Itinerary of Greece, p. 103. *Lond.* 1810.

† Mr. Gell, from the remains existing at the time of our visit to the place, did afterwards complete a very useful plan, as a guide for travellers, both the enclosure and its environs; this was engraved for his "Itinerary of Greece." *See plate facing p.* 108. *of that work. Lond.* 1810.

‡ See Trav. in Greece, p. 226. *Oxf.* 1776.

Greek chapel; another has been already noticed in the description of *Athens;* and the instances which have been observed by preceding travellers it is unnecessary now to enumerate. These *chairs*, as they have been called, have all the same form; consisting each of one entire massive block of white marble, generally ornamented with fine sculpture. Owing to notions derived either from Roman theatres, or from the modern customs of Europe, they have been considered as *seats* for the chief magistrates; but even if this opinion be consistent with the fact of there being one *Cathedra* only in each theatre, it is contrary to the accounts given of the places assigned for persons of distinction in Grecian theatres, who were supposed to have sate in the *Bouleutiscon;* that is to say, upon the eight rows of benches within the middle of the (Κοῖλον) *Cavea* of the theatre, between the eighth and the seventeenth row.* How little beyond the general form of a Greek theatre is really known, may be seen by reference to a celebrated work in our own language,† written professedly in illustration of the "*Antiquities of Greece.*" Yet this author, upon the subject of the Λογεῖον, or Θυμέλη, commonly translated by the word *pulpit*, states distinctly enough, that it stood in the middle of the *orchestra;*‡ which, as far as we can learn, is nearly the spot where these marble relics have been found: hence a question seems to arise, whether they were not intended, each as a conspicuous place in the *orchestra* of the theatre to which it belonged, for the better exhibition of those performers who contested prizes upon any musical instrument, or were engaged in any trial of skill, where one person only occupied the attention of the audience. The sculpture upon one of them, as thrice represented in the third volume of Stuart's Antiquities of Athens,§

* This is the part of a Greek theatre assigned for the βουλευτικὸν by *Guilletiere*, (see p. 510, ch. XII. *of this Section*,) who has founded his observations upon a careful comparison of the accounts left by the ancients with the actual remains of the theatres themselves. But *Potter*, and after him other authors who have written upon Grecian antiquities, consider the *lowest* part of the COILON as the place appropriated to the seats of the magistrates; which agrees with a custom still retained in some countries, particularly in Sweden. In the theatre at Stockholm, the king and queen sate, in two chairs, in the pit, in front of the orchestra. For the βουλευτικὸν, the reader is referred to *Aristophanes*, and to *Julius Pollux*, lib. iv. c. 19.

† Archælogia Græca, by John Potter, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury.

‡ See vol. I. p. 42. *Lond.* 1751.

§ See Stuart's Athens, vol. III. p. 19, 29. "Whether they have been *seats* for a magistrate in a court of judicature, or of officers in a Gymnasium, is not easily determined from their situation." *Ibid.* p. 25. *Lond.* 1794.

seems to favour this idea of their use; because its ornaments are actually those prizes which were bestowed upon successful candidates; a vessel of the oil produced by the olive tree that grew in the *Academia;* and three wreaths, or chaplets, with which victors at the *Panathenæ* were crowned.

Proceeding southward from *Liguriò*, we soon arrived at a small village called *Coroni*,* whose inhabitants were shepherds. Here we noticed a noble race of dogs, similar to the breed found in the province of *Abruzzo* in Italy; and it is somewhat singular that the very spot which still bears an appellation derived from the name of the mother of *Æsculapius* should be now remarkable for the particular kind of animal materially connected with his history. It was a shepherd's dog who guarded *the infant god* when exposed upon Mount *Titthion*.† We bought a young one, for ten piastres, of great size and beauty. It resembled a wolf, with shining black hair. To complete all the circumstances of analogy, they had given to it the name of Κοράκι, as if in memory of the κόραξ which *Apollo* set to watch *Coronis* after she became pregnant. *Coráki* proved a useful companion to us afterwards; as he always accompanied our horses, and protected us from the attacks of the large dogs swarming in the Turkish towns and villages, and constantly assailing a traveller upon his arrival: indeed, sometimes it became a question with us, whether *Ibrahim* or *Kordki* were the most intelligent and useful *Tchohadar*.

At *Coroni*, turning toward the east, we had the first sight of the HIERON. Its general disposition may have been anticipated by the reader, in the description already given of the features of *Epidauria*. It is a small and beautiful valley, surrounded by high mountains; one of superior magnitude bounding the prospect on its eastern side. This, from its double summit, consisting of two rounded eminences, may be

* "Possibly an ancient name taken from the nymph *Coronis*, the mother of *Æsculapius*." (*Gell's itinerary of Greece*, p. 103. *Lond.* 1810.) It were to be wished that this industrious traveller would complete the design originally announced by the appearance of this publication, and extend it to the rest of Greece, all of which has been visited and accurately surveyed by him. Such a work, to use his own words, "*although it be only calculated to become a book of reference, and not of general entertainment*," would be really useful; and its value would be felt, if not by an indolent reader at his fire-side, yet by the active and enterprising scholar, who wishes to be guided in his researches throughout these interesting regions.

† A *shepherd's dog* was represented as an accompaniment to the statue of the god, of ivory and gold, in his temple.

the *mamillary* mountain, thence called TITTHION, by Pausanias,* from τιτθὸς; which word, among a great variety of other instances, proving the common origin of the two languages,† we have retained in our word *teat;* now becoming obsolete. In this valley were the *sacred grove*,‡ and *sanctuary of Æsculapius*, together with numerous *baths*, *temples*, a *stadium* a *theatre*, and some *medicinal springs* and *wells;* the remains of all which may still be severally discerned. The first artificial object that appeared after we left *Coroni*, was a considerable ruin, somewhat resembling a castle, at a short distance in the valley upon our right. Upon closer inspection, it proved to be a Roman edifice of brick-work, and of a square form; possibly one of the benefactions of *Antoninus Pius*, who, while a Roman senator, erected here an hospital for the reception of pregnant women and dying persons, that were before always removed out of the *Peribolus*,§ to be delivered, or to expire in the open air. Further on we perceived the traces of a large building, divided into several chambers, and stuccoed; and it is known that the same senator also built the bath of *Æsculapius*, beside making other donations. We soon came to what we supposed to have been the ground-plot of the *temple:* its remains are seen only at one extremity, but the oblong plane upon which this immense fabric stood is clearly marked out by the traces of its foundations. We had no sooner arrived, than we were convinced that the time we proposed to dedicate to these ruins would by no means prove adequate to any proper survey of them: we found enough to employ the most diligent traveller during a month, instead of a single day. Near to the temple is the *stadium;* and its appearance illustrates a disputed passage in

* Ὄρη δέ εἰσιν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος, τό τε ΤΙΤΘΙΟΥ καὶ ἕτερον ὀνομαζόμενον Κενόρτιον, Μαλιάτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. Pausan. Corinth. c. 27. pp. 174, 175. *Lips.* 1696.

† The nation from whom the *Greeks* were descended, and the earliest settlers in *Britain*, spoke dialects of the same language. The numberless proofs that might be adduced of this are foreign to the object of this publication; but, as to an authority for the common origin of the two colonies, the author is proud to refer to his grandfather's learned work on "*the connection of the Roman and Saxon coins;*"—a work that was highly prized by the greatest Grecian scholar England ever had; namely, the illustrious Porson; whose frequent illustrations and evidences of the fact here alluded to are recent in the recollection of all who knew him.

‡ Τὸ δὲ Ἱερὸν ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περιέχουσιν ὄροι πανταχόθεν. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 27. p. 172. *Lips.* 1696.

§ Οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες σφίσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, ib.

Pausanias,* for it consisted principally of high banks of earth, which were only partially covered with seats. We observed here a subterraneous vaulted passage, now choked with rubbish, which conducted into its area,† on the left side of it, and near to the principal entrance. This *stadium* has fifteen rows of seats; but the seats are only at the upper end of the structure: the rest is of earth, heaped so as to form its sides. The *theatre* is further on toward the mountains, on the right hand; and it is one of the most remarkable in all Greece; not only from the state in which it remains, but in being mentioned by *Pausanias* as a work of POLYCLETUS, renowned for excelling all other architects in the harmony and beauty of his structures.‡ We found a subterraneous building, resembling a small chapel, without being able even to conjecture for what purpose it was constructed, unless it were for a bath. Near to it we saw a little stone coffin, containing fragments of *terra cotta* vases: it had perhaps been rifled by the peasants, and the vases destroyed, in the hope of discovering hidden treasure. But the most remarkable relics within the sacred precinct were architectural remains in *terra cotta*. We found the ornaments of a *frieze*, and part of the *cornice* of a temple, which had been manufactured in *earthenware*. Some of these ornaments had been moulded for *relievos*; and others, less perfectly baked, exhibited painted surfaces. The colours upon the latter still retained much of their original freshness: upon being wetted with water, they appeared as vivid as when they were first laid on; resembling the painted surfaces of those "*pictured urns*" (as they were termed by our English Pindar) upon which it is now usual to bestow the appellation of "*Grecian vases*." The wonderful state of preservation manifested by the oldest painted *terra cottas* of Greece has been supposed to be owing to the circumstance of their remaining in sepulchres where the atmospheric air was excluded: but these ornaments were designed for the outside of a temple, and have remained for ages exposed to all the changes of weather, upon the surface of the soil. In

* Vid. Pausan. Corinth. c. 27. p. 173. lib. xiv. cum Annot. Xyland. et Sylb. Edit. Kuhnii. *Lips.* 1696.

† Chandler says, it was a private way, by which the *Agonothetæ*, or presidents, with the priests and persons of distinction, entered. *See Trav. in Greece*, p. 225.

‡ Ἁρμονίας δὲ ἡ κάλλους εἵνεκα, ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος ἐς ἄμιλλαν Πολυκλείτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως, Πολύκλειτος γὰρ καὶ θέατρον τοῦτο, καὶ οἶκημα τὸ περιφερὲς ὁ ποιήσας ἦν. Pausan. Corinth. c. 27. pp. 174. 175. *Lips.* 1696.

the description before given of the *Memphian Sphinx*, another striking example was adduced, proving through what a surprising lapse of time ancient painting has resisted decomposition: and if the period of man's existence upon earth would admit of the antiquity ascribed by *Plato* to certain pictures in Egypt, there would have been nothing incredible in the age he assigned to them.* The colours upon these *terra cottas* were a bright straw-yellow and red. The building to which they belonged is mentioned by *Pausanias*; and to increase the interest excited by the discovery of these curious remains, we found the same passage of that historian cited by *Winkelmann*, to prove that such materials were used in ancient architecture.† After describing the *theatre*, the *stadium*, and other edifices, *Pausanias* adds:‡ "The *Hieron* once contained a portico (στοὰ) called that of *Cotys*; but the roof falling in, caused the destruction of the whole edifice, owing to the nature of its materials, which consisted of crude tiles."

We then went, by an ancient road, to the top of a hill toward the east, and found upon the summit the remains of a temple, with steps leading to it yet remaining: there is reason to believe this to have been the temple of the *Coryphæan Diana*, upon mount *Cynortium*, from the circumstance of an inscription which we discovered upon the spot. It is imperfect; but it mentions a priest of *Artemis*, of the name of *Apotatilius*, who had commemorated his *safety* from some disorder:

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟϹΑΠ

ΟΤΑΤΕΙΛΙΟϹϹΩΝ

ΕΡΑΠΟΛΗΑϹΤΟϹ

By the side of this temple there was a bath, or reservoir, lined with stucco, thirty feet by eight, with some *Lumachella* columns of the *Doric* order: the foundations and part of the pavement of the temple yet exist, and these are not less than

* *See* p. 100, vol. III "The walls of great edifices," says Pauw, (*ibid.*) "when once painted, remained so for ever."

† Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens, tom. II. p. 544. *Paris*, An. 2.

‡ Καὶ ἦν γὰρ στοὰ καλουμένη Κότυος, καταῤῥύεντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ ὀρόφου, διέφθαρτο ἤδη πᾶσα, ἅτε ὤμης τῆς πλίνθου ποιηθεῖσα. Pausan. Corinthiaca. c. 27. p. 174. *Lips.* 1696.

sixty paces in extent: we noticed some channels grooved in the marble, for conveying water in different directions. The traces of buildings may be observed upon all the mountains which surrounded the sacred valley; and over all this district their remains are as various as their history is indeterminate. Some of them seem to have been small sanctuaries, like chapels; others appear as baths, fountains, and aqueducts. The temple of the *Coryphæan Diana* is mentioned by Pausanias;* and being identified with this ruin, it may serve to establish a point of observation for ascertaining the edifices described by the same author as in its neighbourhood. It was upon the summit of CYNORTIUM; and had been noticed by *Telesilla* in her poems. We next came to a singular and very picturesque structure, with more the appearance of a *cave* than of a building. It was covered with hanging weeds, overgrown with bushes, and almost buried in the mountain: the interior of it exhibited a series of circular arches, in two rows, supporting a vaulted roof; the buttresses between the arches being propped by short columns. Possibly this may have been the building which Chandler, in his dry way, called "*a Church*," without giving any description of it; where, "beside fragments, he found an inscription *to far-darting Apollo*."† He supposes the *temple of Apollo*, which was upon mount *Cynortium*, to have stood upon this spot.

Below this mountain by the northern side of a water-course, now dry, and rather above the spot where it discharged itself into the valley, is a small building of a circular form, covered by a dome, with arches round the top. We found a few imperfect inscriptions, one of which mentions *Hierophants*, or *priests of Mars*, (Πυρφόροι) dedicating some votive offering. All that we could trace were these letters:

ΙΑΡΕ

ΦΑΩΝ

ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟ

ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ

* Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους, κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν καὶ Τελέσιλλα ἐποιήσατο ἐν ἄσματι μνήμην. Pausan. Corinth. c. 28. p. 175. *Lips.* 1696.

† The arches may be as old as the time of Pausanias. The inscription mentioned by Chandler is as follows: "*Diogenes the Hierophant, to far-darting Apollo, on account of a vision in his sleep.*" Trav. in Greece, p. 225. 1776.

The circular building is too modern in its aspect, and too mean in its materials, for the THOLUS of Pausanias,* of white marble, built by *Polycletus*, architect of the theatre; but it may perhaps correspond better with the fountain which he alludes to, as remarkable for its roof and decorations;† this kind of roof being almost unknown in Greece. The building, although smaller, bears some resemblance to the well-known *bath*, improperly called the *temple of Venus* at *Baiæ*.

Hence we repaired to the *theatre*, now upon our *left* hand, but upon the *right* to those entering the *Hieron* from *Coroni*, that is to say, upon its southern side.‡ Chandler speaks of its "*marble seats*" as "overgrown with bushes:"§ we found those seats to consist of common *limestone*, a difference of little moment; but as we paid particular attention to the dimensions and figure of this splendid structure, one of the most entire of all the Grecian theatres, and in its original and perfect state one of the most magnificent,‖ so we shall be very particular in giving an account of it. We found it tenanted by a variety of animals, which were distributed at our approach; hares, red-legged partridges, and tortoises: our new acquaintance *Corâki*, accompanied by his former master, a descendant of the goat-herd *Ârestbanas*, bounded among the seats, and, driving them from their haunts, soon put us into sole possession. But an animal of a very different nature was dragged from his lurking place by Mr. Cripps; who delighted by the discovery he had made, came running with an extraordinary snake which he had caught among some myrtles, and held writhing in his hands. It was of a bright *yellow* colour, shining like burnished gold, about a yard in length, such as none of us had seen before. The peasants, however, knew it to be a species of

* Οἴκημα δὲ τετράφορες λίθου λευκοῦ καλούμενον ΘΟΛΟΣ, ᾠκοδόμηται πλησίον, θέας ἄξιον. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 27. p. 173. *Lips.* 1696.

† Καὶ κρήνη τῷ τεθόφῳ καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ θέας ἄξια. Ibid. p. 174.

‡ Ἐπιδαυρίοις δέ ἐστι θέατρον ἐν ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩΙ, μάλιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θέας ἄξιον. (*Ibid.*) This expression of Pausanias, "Within the *Hieron*," or *sacred precinct*, has been by some preposterously rendered "*Within the temple.*" A theatre WITHIN A TEMPLE!!!

§ Trav. in Greece, p. 225. *Oxf.* 1776.

‖ This is evident from the manner in which it is always mentioned by *Pausanias*, who speaks of the comparative magnificence and architectural skill shown in other theatres with reference to this of *Polycletus* in Epidauria. Thus when he is giving an account of a theatre in *Ægina*, he says of it, Θέατρον ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λαωνῆν. Pausan. Corinth, c, 29. p. 180, *Lips.* 1696.

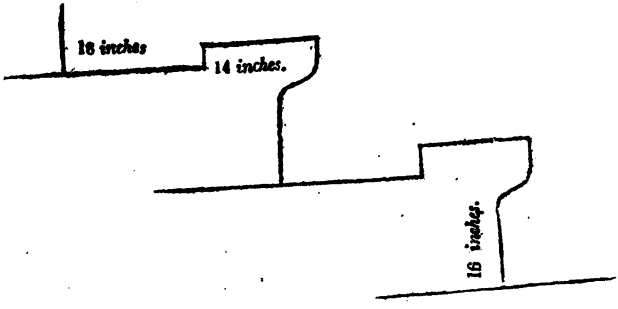
harmless serpent, which they had been accustomed to regard with tenderness, and even with superstitious veneration; telling us it would be unlucky in any one who should do it injury. It was, in fact, one of the curious breed described by *Pausanias*, as peculiar to the country of the *Epidaurians*, being always *harmless*, and of a *yellow* colour.* We could not, however, assist Mr. *Cripps* in its preservation; no one of our party being able to devest himself sufficiently of a very common antipathy for serpents: and the consequence was, that being unwilling to put it to death, and the peasants wishing for its release, he suffered it to escape.

The *Coilon* of this theatre, as usual, has been scooped in the side of a mountain; but it faces the north. As the sea could not enter into the perspective, which seems to have been a general aim of the architects by whom such structures were planned throughout Greece, this position of the theatre may have been designed to afford it as much shade as its situation was capable of receiving. Its northern aspect, and the mountain towering behind it, must have protected the whole edifice, during a great portion of the day, from the beams of the sun; and we may suppose this to have been a consideration, rather than any circumstance of expediency as to the mountain itself, because the whole circumference of the *Peribolus* afforded declivities equally well adapted to the purpose of constructing a theatre: and it is also well known that the Greeks were frequently obliged to carry umbrellas (σκιάδεια) with them into their theatres; submitting to their encumbrance, rather than remain exposed to the sun's rays. The women upon such occasions were also attended by the umbrella-bearers (σκιαδηφόροι);† and this custom, from the increase it occasioned in the throng, added to the embarrassment caused among the audience by the number of umbrellas intercepting the view of the stage, must have rendered a shaded theatre a very desirable acquisition. Indeed we know that, upon some occasions, temporary sheds and large awnings were erected for the convenience of the spectators. Every provision of this kind was doubly necessary in the *Hieron;* by its nature sultry, owing to its surrounding mountains, and filled with inhabitants selected

* Δράκοντες δὲ οἱ λοίποι καὶ ἕτερον γένος ἐς τὸ ξανθότερον δίοντες χρόας, ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ νομίζονται, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις ἥμεροι· τρέφει δὲ μόνη σφᾶς ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆ. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 28. p. 175. *Lips.* 1696.

† Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. vi. c. 1780.

from all the invalids of Greece—the feeble, the enervated, and effeminated votaries of the god—vainly seeking in these retreats a renovation of exhausted nature; or aged and infirm persons, anxiously looking for some gleam of cheerfulness, wherewith to gladden the termination of a career that knew no hope beyond the grave. It is evident that the disposition of this popular place of amusement was arranged with luxury as well as convenience: for, in addition to the shade it offered, the salutary waters of the HIERON flowed in the deep bed of a torrent immediately beneath its front.* With regard to the theatre itself, the *Scene*, or, as it has been sometimes improperly called, the *Proscenion*,† has totally disappeared; and as it was here that *Polycletus* probably exhibited the greatest proof of those architectural talents so highly extolled by *Pausanias*, the loss of it is highly to be regretted: but such is the entire state of the structure within the *Coilon*, that not one of the seats is either missed or imperfect. Owing to their remarkable preservation, we were enabled to measure, with the greatest accuracy, the diameter of the *Conistra*, and the dimensions of all the parts appropriated to the spectators. There is something remarkable even in the position of the seats; their surface is not perfectly horizontal; the architect has given to them a slight inclination, perhaps that water might not rest upon them during rain. The section of these seats would exhibit a profile of this kind:



* The reader is referred to a view of this theatre, of the torrent's course which is now dry, and of the whole *Hieron*, as engraved from a drawing made upon the spot by W. Gell, esq. See *Itinerary of Greece*, *Plate* 22. *p.* 104. *Lond.* 1810.

† This name applies only to the *Stage* of a Greek theatre.

By a simple contrivance, which is here visible, the seats of the spectators were not upon a level with the places for the feet of those who sate behind them; a groove, eighteen inches wide, and about two inches deep, being dug in the solid mass of stone whereof each seat consisted, expressly for the reception of the feet; and this groove extended behind every row of spectators, all around the theatre; by which means their garments were not trampled upon by persons seated above them. The width of each seat was fourteen inches, and its perpendicular elevation sixteen inches. The number of the seats, counted as steps from the *Conistra* or *Pit*, to the top of the *Coilon*, was fifty-six;* in the same direction from the *Pit*, upwards, the semicircular ranges of the seats were *intersected* at the right angles by above twenty *flights* of little stairs; each *flight* being twenty-eight inches and a half wide, and each *step* exactly half the height of one of the benches: these, crossing the several rows from *the Pit* upwards, enabled persons to ascend to the top of the theatre, without incommoding the spectators when seated. *Guilletiere*, speaking of such stairs, says, that near to them were passages leading to the outer porticoes, by which the spectators entered to take their places.† He seems to have founded this notion upon the plan of a Roman theatre, the view of which he has given in his work.‡ We do not remember ever to have seen in Grecian theatres any such *retreats* or *entrances*, near to the little stairs for crossing the benches; the entrances to a Greek theatre were either vaulted passages at the sides, near to what we should call the *stage-boxes*, or in the exterior front of the *scene*, behind the stage itself. Many authors speak of those porticoes, as being erected behind the *Cavea*; which, as applied to the theatres of Greece, is ridiculous;§ for what can be more absurd than to tell of buildings behind seats, which were either integral parts of a mountain, or were adapted to its solid surface. The porticoes to which the audience retired for shelter, in rainy weather, must have had a different situation. The whole of the *Coilon* or *Cavea*, that is to say, of the *seats* ta-

* Mr. Gell says fifty-five.

† See Chap. XIII. p. 56, of this vol. line 4.

‡ See plate facing p. 1, from a design by *Guillet*; engraved by *Gobille*, "Athènes ancienne et moderne." *Paris*, 1675.

§ See Potter's Archæolog. Græc. vol. I. p. 42. *Lond.* 1751. Harwood's Græc. Antiq. p. 18. *Lond.* 1801, &c. &c.

ken altogether, was separated into two parts, an upper and a lower tier, by a *diazoma* or *corridor*, half way from the top, running parallel to the rows of seats: and in this, as upon a platform, there was a space from one extremity of the circular arch to the other. The two parts of a theatre thus separated are perhaps all that Vitruvius intended by the "two distinct elevations of the rows of benches," which *Guilletiere* complained of being unable to reconcile with any thing now remaining of ancient theatres.* The diameter of the *Conistra*, or *Pit*, taken in the widest part, is one hundred and five feet; but as the circular arch of the theatre is greater than a semicircle, the width of the *orchestra*, that is to say, the *chord of the arch*, is barely equal to ninety feet.† Facing the Theatre, upon the opposite bank of the bed of the torrent before mentioned, are the foundations of an edifice of considerable size; but it were endless to enumerate every indistinct trace of ancient buildings within this celebrated valley; nor would such a detail afford the smallest portion of satisfactory information. With the description of the *theatre* we shall therefore conclude our observations upon the HIERON; hoping that nothing worthy of consideration has been omitted, respecting one of the most perfect structures of the kind in all Greece.

We returned by the way of *Coroni;* and near to *Liguriò* took a western course in the road leading toward *Nauplia*, the ancient port of *Argos*.‡ After journeying for about an hour, through a country resembling many parts of the Apennines, we saw a village near the road, with a ruined castle upon a hill, to the right, where the remains of *Lessa* are situated. This village is half way between *Liguriò* and *Nauplia;* and here was the ancient boundary between *Epidauria* and the *Argive* territory.§ Those ruins have not yet been visited by any traveller; indeed, there is much to be done throughout *Argolis:* this country, particularly, merits investigation. The antiquities that occurred in our route were principally of a sepulchral nature, near to the ancient road leading from *Nauplia* towards *Lessa* and *Epidaurus;*

* See p. 56, line 30. Chap. XII. of this volume.

† Mr. Gell states it as equal to eighty-nine feet. *See Itin. of Greece*, p. 108. *Lond.* 1810.

‡ Ἡ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΑ, τὸ τῶν Ἀργείων ναύσταθμον. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 505. ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

§ Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λῆσσαν ἴχνεται τῆς Ἀργείας ἡ Ἐπιδαυρίων. Paus. Corinth. c. 26. p. 169. *Lips.* 1696.

but so peculiarly characterized, as to form and structure, that it is evident they were the works of the earliest colonies in Peloponnesus and probably of Dorian origin. Strabo makes but few remarks upon the *Argive* territory; and even these are delivered from the observations of *Artemidorus* and *Apollodorus;* not having himself visited the spot.* We passed some tombs that were remarkable in having large rude stones, of a square form, placed upon their tops; a custom alluded to by Pausanias in the description he has given of the *tumulus* raised by *Telamon* upon the shore of *Ægina*, near to the *Æacéum*. The (κῶμα) *heap* had upon the top of it (λίθος τραχὺς) "rugged stone," once used, according to a tradition in the second century, by *Peleus* and *Telamon*, as a *discus*, with which *Peleus* slew *Phocus* during a game of quoits † It has been a common notion every where, that ancient heroes were men of gigantic stature. The fable, therefore, as related to *Pausanias* by the *Æginetans*, is of little moment; but the fact of a stone so placed is sufficient to prove that such a substitute for the *Stélé* was found upon a *Dorian tumulus* of very remote antiquity; and the observation of the historian is in some measure confirmed by the existence of similar tombs in *Argolis* corresponding with his description of the mound in *Ægina;* the *Dorians* having possessed this island and the Argive territory nearly twelve centuries before the christian æra: at that time the *Peloponnesus* was the principal seat of their power, and by them the city of *Megara* was then founded. Upon the *left*-hand side of the road we also observed an Egyptian sepulchre, having a *pyramidal* shape; and agreeing so remarkably, both as to form and situation, with a monument mentioned by *Pausanias*, that we believed ourselves to be actually viewing the identical tomb seen by him.‡ He supposes the traveller coming in a contrary direction from the line of our route; that is to say, from *Argos* toward *Epidauria;* and in so doing he describes a pyramidal structure as being upon the *right* of the observer. It contained, he says,§ *shields* of an *Argolic* form; for a battle had once been fought in the place, between the armies of *Prœtus* and *Acrisius*, upon which occasion shields were first used, and those who fell on either side were

* Ἐπίδαυρος, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος φησιν. Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ, κ. τ. λ. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. pp. 534. 535. edit. Oxon. 1807.

† Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 29. pp. 179, 180. *Lips.* 1696.

‡ Ἐρχομένοις δ' ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν, ἐστὶν οἰκοδόμημα ἐν δεξιᾷ πυραμίδι μάλιστα εἰκάσμενον, κ. τ. λ. Paus. Corinth. c. 25. p. 169. *Lips.* 1696.

§ Ibid.

here buried in one common sepulchre. However, he is evidently describing a sepulchre nearer to *Argos;* for he adds, that upon quitting the spot, and turning toward the right hand, the ruins of *Tiryus* appear:* therefore the pyramidal form may have been common to many ancient sepulchres in Argolis. *Lessa* was but a *village* in the time of Pausanias,† as it now is: but it was remarkable for a *temple* and wooden image‡ of Minerva; and upon the mountain above the village, perhaps where the castle now stands, there were altars of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, whereon sacrifices were offered in times of drought.§ The mountain then bore the name of *Arachnæus:* its ancient appellation, under *Inachus*, had been *Sapyselatôn.*‖

During this part of our journey the more distant mountains of the Morea appeared extremely lofty, elevating their naked summits into the pure ether, with uncommon sublimity. The road led through a mountain pass that had been strongly fortified. We saw everywhere proofs of the fertility of the soil; in the more open valleys, plantations of pomegranate and mulberry trees; and even amidst the most rocky situations there sprouted myrtles, beautiful heaths, and flowering shrubs, among which sheep and goats were browsing in great number. We met several herds upon the road, each herd containing from seven to nine hundred head of cattle. As we drew near to the seaside, we passed a very extensive plantation of olive-trees; and came to an ancient paved road, leading from *Nauplia* toward *Argos* the once renowned capital. Sepulchres, as old as the age of *Danaus*, appeared among the rocks before we reached the town. Strabo assigns to them even an earlier date; he says they were called *Cyclopêa*, as having been the work of the Cyclops;** it being usual to attribute to a race of men who, from their power, were considered by after ages as giants, any result of extraordinary labour.†† The beauties of the

* Προϊοῦσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκτρανεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰν, Τίρυνθός ἐστιν ἐρείπια. Pausan. Corinth. c. 25. p. 169. *Lips.* 1696.

† Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον εὐθεῖαν, ἔστι ΚΩΜΗ Λῆσσα. Ibid. p. 169.

‡ Ναὸς καὶ ξόανον. Ibid.

§ Ibid.

‖ Σαπυσελάπων. Ibid.

** Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ναυπλίᾳ τὰ σπήλαια, καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομητοὶ λαβύρινθοι. ΚΥΚΛΩΠΙΑΕΙΑ δ' ὀνομάζουσιν. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii p. 536. ed. *Oxon.*

†† "*Cyclopêa* autem dicta hæc videntur, ob magnitudine: "*nam*" inquit vetus Papinii interpres (ad Theb. lib. i. ver. 251.) "*quicquid magnitudine suâ nobile est, Cyclopum manu dicitur fabricatum.*" Vid. Annot. Casaub. in Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 536. (4.) edit. *Oxon.* 1707.

scenery, and the interesting nature of the country, had detained us so long, that we did not reach NAUPLIA until the gates were shut;* and there was no possibility of causing a request to be conveyed to the governor for their being opened; neither would any attention have been paid to such our petition, if it had been made. The worst of the scrape was, that all our beds and baggage, being with the sumpter-horses and guides, had already entered the town before the gates had been closed. There seemed, therefore, to be no other alternative but that of ending a long day of entire fasting without any hope of nourishment, and with the certainty of passing the rest of the night houseless in the suburbs of *Nauplia*. After some time, the *Tchohadar* found a miserable shed whose owner he compelled to provide a few boards for us to sit upon; but neither the offers of money, nor Ibrahim's boasted resource of *flagellation*, from which we found it almost impossible to restrain him, availed any thing toward bettering either our lodging or our fare. Weary, cold, and comfortless, we remained counting the moments until the morning; without fire, without light, without rest, without food: but the consciousness of being upon *terra firma*, and that we were not exposed, as we had often been, under circumstances of equal privation, to the additional horrors of a tempestuous sea, made our situation comparatively good, and taught us to be thankful.

As soon as daylight appeared, the worthy consul, Mr. Victor Dalmar, who had received our baggage, and was uneasy for the safety of his expected guests, caused the gates to be opened rather earlier than usual.† The governor, to whom he had made application, sent orders to the gate, desiring to see us. We begged to decline this honour, pleading our fatigue and indisposition as an apology for not waiting upon him; but sent the *Tchohadar* as our representative. Ibrahim, having put on his fur pelisse, and a fine tall *calpack* with a turban of white muslin, looked like a vizier, and quite as respectable as any pasha of three tails throughout the Grand Signior's dominions. When we arrived at the consul's house, we found sitting in a little hot

* Mr. Gell makes the distance from *Ligurió* to *Nauplia* five hours and forty-eight minutes; not quite equal to sixteen miles English. *See Itin. of Greece*, p. 101. *Lond.* 1810.

† "The Turks suspend a sabre over the gateway, as a memorial that the place was taken by assault." *Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

close room, smelling most unpleasantly of stale tobacco fumes, a short corpulent man, about fifty years of age, who began talking to us very loud, as people often do with foreigners, believing them to be deaf: he announced himself to us as our host; and, from the appearance of every thing around him, we expected indifferent accommodation. In this, however, we were mistaken: we were shown to some rooms lately white-washed; the chambers of the consul's house, as usual surrounding a court, and communicating with each other by means of a gallery. In these rooms there was not a single article of furniture: but they were clean, and we were able to spread our matrasses upon the floor; and soon found ourselves comfortably lodged in as hospitable a mansion as any in all Greece; our benevolent host contriving every thing for our welcome, and endeavouring to prolong our stay as much as possible. After we had taken a little rest, we were roused by the firing of Turkish cannon in the citadel; and Ibrahim, returning from his mission, brought the governor's message to the consul, informing him that he had just received from Stambôl (Constantinople) intelligence of the expulsion of the French from Egypt; and that he had orders from his government to make it publicly known. We were shown a copy of the *Takhrir*, or *official note*, the only Turkish Gazette we had ever seen, announcing an event nearly a quarter of a year after it had happened. It was in manuscript, and Mr. Dalmar translated it for us. The nature of the intelligence was curious enough: it set forth, after a long pompous preamble, that "*public rejoicings were to be held throughout the Ottoman Empire for the deliverance of* (*Misr*) *Egypt from the hands of cursed infidels forsaken of God, owing to the bravery and prudence of Hussein Pasha, and of the troops belonging to the sublime Porte of solid glory, led on by their great Prophet*," *&c. &c.* The only mention made of any obligation to Great Britain was tagged on in the form of a postscript, merely stating that "*the English Djowrs* (Infidels) *had acted friendly upon the occasion.*" Thus the deliverance of Egypt, purchased at the price of British blood, and for which Abercrombie died, throughout the immense empire of Turkey was ascribed to a dastardly banditti, who were idle spectators of the contest, encumbering rather than aiding the operations of our armies.

The rejoicings at *Nauplia* began immediately: they con-

sisted of an irregular discharge of small artillery most wretchedly managed, and the exhibition of athletic sports before the governor's windows; followed afterwards by a few bad fireworks, displayed without any effect, by daylight. The *Athletæ* were principally wrestlers. We saw two of them advance into the arena where the combat was to take place: they came hand in hand, capering and laughing as if highly gratified by the opportunity of showing their skill; presently they put themselves into various attitudes, and began to make faces at each other. These men afforded a perfect representation of the ancient Πάλη, the oldest of all the exercises.* They wore tight leather breeches well soaked in oil; in other respects their bodies were stark naked, except being anointed with oil,† and rubbed over with dust.‡ To gain the victory, it was necessary not only that one of the combatants should throw the other, but that, having thrown him, he should be able to keep his adversary lying upon his back until he, the conqueror, regained his feet; for in the struggle they always fell together.§ We had also the satisfaction of seeing that most ancient military dance, the *Pyrrhica*, as it had perhaps existed in Greece from the time of its introduction by the *son of Achilles*, or by the *Corybantes*. In fact it was a Spartan dance, and therefore peculiarly appropriate at a neighbouring *Nauplian* festival. It consisted of men armed with sabres and shields, who came forward in a kind of broad-sword exercise, exhibiting a variety of martial evolutions to the sound of Turkish flutes. Such amusements and customs are never likely to be discontinued in any country, so long as any portion of the original inhabitants remains; indeed, they often continue to exist when a new race has succeeded to the old inhabitants; being adopted by their successors.‖

* Even the origin of its name, Πάλη, is uncertain. Virgil derives the exercise from the Trojans, *Æn.* lib. iii. 280.

"Actiaque Iliacis celebramus littora ludis."

† "Exercent patrias oleo labente palæstras
Nudati socii."—— Ibid. 281.

‡ *Vid. Ovid. Met.* ix. 35. *Stat. Theb.* vi. 846. *Lucian. de Gymn.* p. 270. Among the ancients, the *dust* for the wrestlers was kept in a particular place, *Plutarch. Sympos.* II. *Probl.* 4. p. 638. *E. Vitruv.* V. 11. Leisner's Notes to Bos.

§ The same rule, according to Mr. Thornton, is observed in other parts of Turkey. (*See Thornton's Turkey*, vol. II. p. 207. *Lond.* 1809.) In ancient wrestling, the prize was obtained by throwing an adversary three times.

‖ All the invasions and conquests to which our island has been liable, du-

The population of *Nauplia* consisted of two thousand persons at the time of our arrival. The plague had raged during three successive years, and had carried off six thousand of its inhabitants. When free from this scourge, it is a very unhealthy place, the people being attacked annually with a *malaria* fever. The few merchants who reside here have generally country houses, and leave the town in the summer months. The night we had passed in the suburb exposed us to an attack of this kind; the author having caught the fever, and all our party being in a certain degree affected by the unwholesome air. The only remedy is the red *Peruvian bark;* but it must be administered in very powerful doses. A traveller in Greece should consider this medicine as absolutely necessary to his existence, and never journey unprovided.* The commerce of *Nauplia* has been for some time upon the decline. The exports are oil, spunges, and wine. Formerly, the produce of the Morea for exportation, in the first of these articles alone, (and almost all of it went from *Nauplia,*) amounted, in a good year, to one million of Turkish *quilots:* even now, if the crops have not been deficient, the produce of *Corinth, Misitra, Nauplia, Argos,* &c. is sufficient for the freightage of twenty-five vessels. A barrel of fine oil sells here for twenty-six or twenty-eight piastres; each barrel containing forty-eight okes. The other exports of the Morea, from this port, are velani acorns, vermilion, and wine, of which a great quantity is made, the soil of the peninsula being particularly favourable to vineyards. The people of *Nauplia* were early renowned for the cultivation of the vine; they formerly worshipped, as an idol, *an ass's head:* because that animal, by browsing the vines, taught them the art of pruning.† Very excellent oil is made at *Mitylene,* whence a considerable quantity comes to *Nauplia* to be exported. They receive also from *Misitra* forty or fifty thousand okes of silk: and this is of three sorts or qualities; the finest is called (ὀψὶ) *Opsé;* the second sort, *Karatch kemi litchi;* and the third, *Kassagico.*‡ There is,

ring nineteen centuries, have not abolished the rites of the *Misletoe;* and some of the games of the earliest inhabitants of Great Britain are still practised in the country.

* Perhaps the arsenic solution, called "*tasteless ague drops,*" might prove even a more potent remedy; and it would be more portable, owing to the small quantity of arsenic necessary in its preparation.

† Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiaca, c. 38, p. 201. *Lips.* 1696.

‡ We cannot pretend to accuracy in writing these words; they are merely an adaptation of the letters of our alphabet to sounds, as they seemed to be

perhaps, no place in Greece where the *ancient medals* of the country may be purchased in greater number, or found in a higher state of perfection, than at *Nauplia*. We obtained here the oldest silver medals of *Corinth*, of *Argos*, of *Dorium* in *Messenia*, and of *Ægina*. Old Roman copper coins might be had literally by the handful. Silver medals of the *Achaian League*, with the *head of Jupiter*, *laurelled*, in front, and the monogram on the obverse side, were very common. Upon the oldest Corinthian silver, the *head of Pallas* was represented within an indented square; or the figure of a *flying Pegasus* with the wings curved toward the head, and beneath the animal the Phœnician letter ϙ *Koph*. Some, upon their obverse sides, exhibited only the indented square, divided into four parts, with *a grain* in each.

We had not seen any gipsies since we left Russia; but we found this people in *Nauplia*, under the name they bear in Moldavia, of *Tchinganehs*. How they came hither no one knew; but the march of their ancestors from the north of India to Europe, so lately as the beginning of the fifteenth century, will account for their not being found further toward the south; and this is now so well ascertained, that no one would expect to meet a gipsy upon any of the southern shores of the Mediterranean. To have found them in the Peloponnesus is rather remarkable, considering that their whole tribe, at the first, did not exceed half a million; and this number has subsequently much diminished. Their progress toward this peninsula may have been through Bulgaria, Thrace, and the other northern parts of Greece, from Moldavia, Transylvania, and Wallachia, where they are numerous, and find employment in collecting gold from the alluvial deposite of the rivers. Through the same countries they may have reached *Asia Minor*; but we believe that the *Morea* has been the ultimate of their journey toward the south, since the period of their first migration.*

The streets of *Nauplia* are as they probably existed in the time of Pausanias; narrow, dark, and dirty. It is mentioned

uttered. The *Karatch* is a capitation tax, levied upon Greeks and Jews; and possibly the second sort of silk may be the result of such a tax taken in kind.

* Beaujour mentions them as forming a part of the population of *Salonica*, under the name of TCHIKGHENAIS. *Tableau de la Comm. de la Grèce*, tom. I. p. 53. *Paris*, 1800.

both by *Xenophon** and by *Euripides*;† but its ancient name of *Nauplia* is now corrupted by the Italians into *Napoli di Romania*. The high and abrupt mountain upon which the Acropolis is situated, still retains the name of the hero *Palamedes*, son of *Nauplius*, in the appellation *Palamedi*. There is nothing remarkable in the town itself, excepting its situation; and this, like the site of many other Grecian cities, borrows from nature some of her grandest features, each disposition of them being, at the same time, distinguished by something peculiar to itself. *Athens*, *Argos*, *Nauplia*, *Corinth*, and many more, had each their lofty citadel, with its dependent burgh and fertile plain: in this they resembled each other; but in certain characteristics they all differ. ATHENS appears as a forsaken habitation of *holiness*; for a moment unmindful of the degrading character of its divinities, the spectator views with a degree of awe its elevated shrines, surrounded on every side by a mountain barrier, enclosing the whole district as within one consecrated Peribolus. ARGOS, with less of a *priestly* character, but equal in dignity, sits enthroned as the mistress of the seas: facing the sun's most powerful beams, she spreads her flowery terraces on either side, before the lucid bosom of the waters in *regal* majesty. NAUPLIA, stretching out upon a narrow tongue of land, and commanded by impregnable heights, rich in the possession of her port, "the most secure and best defended in the Morea,"‡ but depending always upon *Argos* for supplies, was fitted, by every circumstance of natural form, to become a *mercantile* city, and the mart of Grecian commerce. CORINTH, the Gibraltar of the Peloponnesus, by its very nature a *fortress*, is marked by every facility that may conduce to military operations, or render it conspicuous for its *warlike aspect*. In every part of Greece there is something naturally appropriate to the genius and the history of the place; as in the bubbling fountains and groves of EPIDAURIA, sacred to *Æsculapius*; the pastoral scenes of ARCADIA, dedicated to the *Muses* and to *Pan*; the hollow rocks of PHOCIS, echoing to *Pythian oracles*; and perhaps the

* Xenophont. Hellenic. lib. iv. Annot. Forst. in Strabon. lib. ix. p. 535. ed. *Oxon.*

† Euripides in Oreste, ver. 53. Ibid.

Ἥκει γὰρ εἰς γῆν Μεγίλεως Τροίας ἄπο,
Λιμένα δὲ Ναυπλίειον ἐκπληρῶν κλάτῃ,
Ἀκταῖσιν ὁρμεῖ.———

‡ Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 227. *Oxf.* 1776.

custom of making offerings to *all the gods*, upon the summits of OLYMPUS and PARNASSUS, did not so much originate in any eastern practice, as in the peculiar facility wherewith the eye commanded from those eminences almost every seat of sanctity in Greece.*

On Wednesday, November the ninth, we left *Nauplia*, accompanied by the two sons of Mr. Dalmar, to visit the remains of TIRYNS,† and thence proceed to *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Neméa*, in our way to *Sicyon* and *Corinth*. The lofty citadel of *Palamedi* towered above us on our right hand. We passed several gardens, and some pleasing *kiosks*, or summer houses, situated near the town. The walls of *Tiryns* are not more than an English mile and a half distant from *Nauplia*; or half an hour, according to the Turkish mode of reckoning.‡ The sight of them, in a moment, carried our reflections back to the most distant ages of history: we seemed, in fact, to be once more among the ruins of Memphis. By whomsoever they are built,§ they were decidedly of Egyp-

* The old Grecian custom of uttering the Κύριε ἐλέησον ("*Lord have mercy upon us!*") and making signs of reverence upon coming in sight of any place of worship, is still retained among Greek Christians, but particularly in Russia: the Russians use the same expression literally translated, "*Ghospodi pomilui!*" As the practice enjoined reverence to every *particular* shrine, it must necessarily become a *general* homage to all the divinities, when temples belonging to all the gods were rendered visible at the same time, with as much ease, and more strikingly, than churches become conspicuous to the common people, who, in every Christian country, frequently employ themselves in counting them from the tops of their hills. Perhaps this may explain the beginning of those *offerings to all the gods* which were made by the ancient Greeks upon the summits of their mountains; rather than the ridiculous notion of being nearer to their divinities. The first *temples* were *tombs*; and these were not upon the tops of mountains, but in the plains below, near to the cities and public roads: therefore, by going to the summits of mountains, they, in fact, went *further* from their gods. This suggestion is, however, only made with reference to *Polytheism*, and to the nature of the offering; the worshippers of *one God*, as we learn from Herodotus, with regard to the Persians who built no temples, chose the tops of the highest hills and mountains for their places of worship. (*Herodot. Hist.* lib. i.) Strabo also observes of them, that they had neither images nor altars, but paid their adoration upon some high place. (*Strabon. Geog.* lib. xv.) Cyrus having had a dream, forewarning him of his approaching death, sacrificed upon the summit of a mountain. (*Vid. Xenophon.* lib. viii.) The inhabitants of Pontus and Cappadocia practised the same kind of worship. (*Appian. lib. de bello Mithrid.* p. 366.)

† Μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαίμονα πόλις ἐστὶν ΑΡΓΟΣ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΑ πόλις, καὶ λιμήν. Ἐν μεσογείᾳ δὲ ΚΑΕΩΝΑΙ, καὶ ΜΥΚΗΝΑΙ, καὶ ΤΙΡΥΝΘΑ. Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus, p. 43. *L. Bat.* 1697.

‡ See Gell's Itinerary of Greece. *Lond.* 1810.

§ It is said by *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and other historians, that the walls of *Tiryns* were built by the *Cyclops*, the same persons to whom Strabo ascribes the origin of the *Nauplian Caves*. Of the *Cyclops* nothing certain is known. They were supposed to be the sons of *Cœlus* and *Terra*; and this notion is

tian origin, and one of the greatest curiosities in all Greece. The coming of an Egyptian colony to this part of Peloponnesus, about fifteen centuries before our era, is a fact attested by the highest authority of written testimony ;* but there is something in the style of the architecture here, which, when compared with other remains of a similar nature, and added to a few historical facts, seems rather to prove it of *Celtic*, than of *Egyptian* origin. We purposely avoid entering into any detailed description of the dimensions of this gigantic building, because a most faithful delineator has already anticipated whatever we might have said upon the subject. To his work we must therefore refer the reader ;† merely stating of the walls of the citadel, that with the exception of the interior structure of the pyramids, a more marvellous result of human labour has not been found upon earth. The *Celts* have left in Great Britain a surprising specimen of the *Cyclopéan* style in architecture; and it may be said of their temple at *Stonehenge*, that it has all the marks of a Phœnician building;‡ hence a conclusion might be deduced, that the *Celts* were originally Phœnicians, or that they have left in *Phœnice* monuments of their former residence in that country. If it be asked, in what region of the globe a taste originated for the kind of architecture termed by the Greeks *Cyclopéan*,§ perhaps the answer may be, that it was cradled in the caves of India: for

enough to prove that all concerning their history is involved in fable. There were no less than three distinct races of men who bore this appellation. (*Vid. Casaubon. Annot. in Strabon.* lib. viii.) Some allusion to the builders of *Tiryns* will be again introduced in the next chapter.

* ΑΦ ΟΥ ΝΑΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΚΩΠΙΩΝ ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΕΠΛΕΥΣΕ, κ. τ. λ.
Vid Chronicon ex Mormar. Arundel. Epoch. ix.

† See Gell's Itinerary of Greece, p. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58. Plates xv. xvi. xvii. *Lond.* 1810.

‡ *Stonehenge* might be considered as a *Phœnician* building from its resemblance to the style of the architecture observed upon the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, added to the knowledge we have of *Phœnician* settlements upon our south-western coasts: but the same kind of building exists in the northern parts of our island, and in Ireland, and may be noticed over all the territories of the *Belgæ* and *Cimbri*. Having accidentally alluded to this remarkable structure, it would be worse than mere omission to avoid noticing an observation concerning it by that learned antiquary *R. P. Knight, esq.* as founded upon a fragment of the writings of HECATÆUS. "From a passage of *Hecataeus*, preserved by *Diodorus Siculus*, I think it is evident that *Stonehenge*, and all the other monuments of the same kind found in the north, belonged to the same religion, which appears, at some remote period, to have prevailed over the whole northern hemisphere. According to the same historian, *the Hyperboreans inhabited an island beyond Gaul, as large as Sicily, in which Apollo was worshipped in a circular temple considerable for its size and riches.*"

§ See a former note upon the application of this term among the Greek writers.

many of these, either partly natural, or wholly artificial, whether originally sepulchres, temples, or habitations, it matters not, are actually existing archetypes of a style of building yet recognised over all the western world, even to the borders of the Atlantic ocean; and the traveller who is accustomed to view these *Cyclopéan* labours, however differing in their ages, beholds in them as it were a series of family resemblances, equally conspicuous in the caverns of Elephanta, the ruins of Persepolis, the sepulchres of Syria and of Asia Minor, the remains of the most ancient cities in Greece and Italy, such as *Tiryns* and *Crotona*, and the more northern monuments of the *Celts*, as in the temples called *Druidical;* especially that of *Stonehenge*, in the south of England. The destruction of *Tiryns* is of such remote antiquity, that its walls existed nearly as they do at present in the earliest periods of Grecian history. Ælian says its inhabitants fed upon *wild figs*,* and the Arcadians upon acorns.† The Argives laid waste the city, and removed its inhabitants to their own capital. *Pausanias*, by whom this is mentioned,‡ makes frequent allusion to its marvellous walls,§ considered by him not less entitled than the pyramids of Egypt to rank among the wonders of the ancient world.‖ The prodigious masses of which they consist were put together without cement; and they are likely to brave the attacks of time through ages even more numerous than those which have already elapsed since they were built. Owing to its walls, the city is celebrated in the poems of Homer;** and the satisfaction of seeing an example of the military architecture of the heroic ages, as it was beheld by him, is perhaps only granted to the moderns in this single instance. They have remained nearly in their present state above three thousand years. It is believed that they were erected long before the Trojan war: as to the precise period, chronologists are so little agreed with regard even to the arrival

* This is rather an argument for their Egyptian origin; for by the *wild fig* is probably intended the *Ficus Sycamorus*, the fruit of which is still eaten in Egypt. We did not, however, notice this tree in Greece.

† Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. iii. c. 39.

‡ Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Τιρυνθίους Ἀργεῖοι, συνοίκους προσλαβεῖν, καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἐπαυξῆσαι θελήσαντες. Pausan. Corinth. c. 26. p. 169. *Lips.* 1696.

§ Vid. Pausan. in Achaic. c. 25. p. 589. in Bœotic. c. 36. p. 783, &c. *Lips.* 1696.

‖ Τὰ τείχη τὰ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἥγαγον μνήμης, οὐδὲ ὄντα ἐλάττονος θαύματος. Ibid. p. 783. Bœotic. c. 36. *Lips.* 1696.

** Οἱ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον, Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν.
Iliad. β. ver. 559.

of the *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* colonies under *Cadmus* and *Danaus*, that a difference of at least a century may be observed in their calculations.* The celebrity of the *Citadel* is almost all that is now known of the *Tirynthians*, excepting their natural tendency to mirth and frivolity. If we may rely upon an anecdote cited by the Abbé Barthelemy† from *Athenæus*,‡ in their characteristic disposition they were nearly allied to the *Parisians* of the present day; and for want of a better argument, the members of the French Academy may recur to the story, in support of a very probable truth; namely, that the *Tirynthians* and the *Gauls* were only *earlier* or *later* scions of the same *Indo-Europæan* stock. Such was their remarkable levity, that the most serious and important concerns served among them merely to give a turn to a *bon mot*. At last, even *fun* became a *bore*; and they applied to the Oracle of Delphi, to be delivered from the *ennui*, of its perpetual recurrence. The answer of the Oracle put them to a trial, which only served to render their natural character the more conspicuous: it promised relief, upon condition, that, after having *gravely* sacrificed a bull to Neptune, they should *as gravely* cast it into the sea. For this purpose the *Tirynthians* assembled upon the shore; taking especial care to prevent the juvenile members of their society from being present at the solemnity. A young pickle, however, made his way into the crowd; and finding they were eager to drive him from the ceremony, exclaimed, "*Are ye then afraid lest I should swallow your bull?*" The words were no sooner uttered, than a general roar of laughter burst from the whole assembly; and being thus persuaded of their incurable disposition, they submitted to their destiny.

* The editor of the Chronicle improperly called *Parian* (which we stated to have been found in *Ceos*) dates the coming of Cadmus to Thebes 1519 years before Christ: but he adds, in a note, "Diodorus and Eusebius make Danaus go into Greece before Cadmus went in search of Europa. Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 329. Our chronologer places Cadmus eight years before Danaus." (*See p. 25. Lond.* 1788.) Others date the arrival of Cadmus 1493 before Christ.

† Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, tom. iv. p. 349. *à Paris*, 1790.

‡ Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. vi. c. 17. p. 261. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. xviii. p. 1839. lin. 47.

CHAP. XVI.

PELOPONNESUS.

Further inquiry into the origin of Tiryns—*Road to Argos—River*—Inachus—*Plants and Minerals*—Argus—Terracotta *Vases—Ignorance of their Sepulchral use—Hecate's Supper—Lectisternium—Probable cause of depositing Earthen Vessels in Sepulchres—Origin of the custom—Population of Argos—Antiquities—Theatre*—Hieron of Venus—Diras—Cyclopéa—*Alcyonian Lake—Oracular Shrine—Other remains of the city—Character of the ancient Argives—View of the Argive Plain—Fabulous Contest between Neptune and Juno*—Hieron *of* Ceres Mysias—*Antiquity of* fictile *materials in building*—Mycenæ—*State of the Ruins—Extraordinary Sepulchre—not the Treasury of Atreus—Heroum of Perseus*—Sophocles—*internal evidence of his having visited the spot—of the* Δῶμα *and* Προπυλαία—Tomb of Agamemnon—*Interior of the* Tumulus—*Enormous lintel—Use of the* triangular cavity *above the entrance—Inner chamber*—Leonine *Gate—Dimensions and description of the* Propylæ—*Mythological symbols—Consecrated Gates—Of the* Pylagoræ—*Ægyptian characteristics—Worship of the Sun—Walls of* Mycenæ.

The advocates for the early origin of "the pointed style" in *Gothic* architecture will have cause enough for triumph in the *Cyclopéan Gallery* at TIRYNS; exhibiting "lancet arches" almost as ancient as the time of Abraham;* and if the learned *Pezron* have not erred in his history of the Gauls, the citadel itself may be considered as a *Celtic* structure.† Be this as it may, the subject is certainly curious; and if it serve only as an amusing topic of research, will perhaps be gratifying to the studious reader. In tracing

* The author would have accompanied this by an engraving, but it has been superseded by Mr. Gell's most accurate representation of the Gallery at Tiryns, as published in his work, to which the reader is particularly referred. *See Gell's Itinerary of Greece, Plate* xvi. *p.* 56. *Lond.* 1810.

† See a most ingenious Dissertation on the "*Antiquities of Nations*," by Paul Pezron. *Lond.* 1809.

the march of the *Celtæ* out of the regions of Upper Asia, he brings a colony under the name of *Titans*, from *Phrygia* into *Peloponnesus*, some years before the death of the Patriarch Abraham.* These men, owing to their astonishing power and prowess, and the mighty works whereby they became signalized, he believes to have been the *Giants* and *Titans* of the Septuagint version of *Isaiah*† and of *Judith*,‡ *men* who became afterwards the omnipotent and sovereign *gods* of Greece and Rome; according to the common practice among the ancients, of deifying their deceased monarchs. He finds, moreover, the names of all their princes in the *Celtic* language.§ In a work of this kind we must leave such profound researches to the investigation of antiquaries and philologists. Let us only see, with reference to *Tiryns*, (concerning whose origin any sound information is as light shining in darkness,) whether there be aught connected with its history likely to corroborate *Pezron's* opinion. All the writers by whom its builders are mentioned, attribute its architecture to the identical race he has mentioned; that is to say, to the *giants*, under a different appellation of *Cyclops*: and this name was bestowed upon them in consequence of a custom which any *Celtic* helmet would illustrate, namely, that of having only one aperture for sight, in the middle of the visor. They came also from the country whence *Pezron* deduces his *Titan* colony; from the southern provinces of PHRYGIA MAGNA, *Caria* and *Lycia*.‖ In the next place occurs a circumstance of a more decisive nature, calculated to confirm the observations of that author in a very striking manner; although by him unnoticed. It is found in an ancient name of the *Inachus*, flowing between *Tiryns* and *Argos*. This river was called HALIACMON, from a person who is mentioned by Plutarch** as of *Tirynthi-*

* "I have shown, in treating of those princes who ruled over the *Titans*, that they were the cotemporaries of *Abraham*, and even of his father *Terah*." *Pezron's Antiq. of Nations*, p. 185. *Lond.* 1809. *See also* p. 83.

† Γίγαντες οἱ ἄρξαντες τῆς γῆς. Isaiah, xiv. 9.

‡ Judith, lib. vi. ver. 6 and 7. υἱοὶ Τιτάνων.

§ Pezron's Antiq. of Nations. pref. p. xviii. Also B. I. c. 14. p. 111. B. II. c. 1. p. 185, &c. *Lond.* 1809.

‖ "Casaubonus, ex Apollodoro, *Cyclopas* in Lyciâ invenit, et eos in Græciâ regnante Jobates habitâsse ait. Jobates Bellerophonti fuit coævus, qui tertiâ ætate ante bellum Trojanum extitit. Quo tempore *Tiryns* forsan fuit condita. Strabo Κάρας quosdam ad Epidaurum ducit. Caria Lyciæ proxima est, ergo *Cyclopes* Lycii cum coloniâ Carum forsan *Tirynthem* advenerunt." *Vid. Annot. in Strabon Geog.* lib. viii. p. 540. *ed. Oxon.* 1807.

** Ἴναχος ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἀργείας χώρας ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ πρότερον Καρμάκων. Ἁλιάκμων δὲ τῷ γένει Τιρύνθιος, ἐν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ ποιμαίνων ὄρει, καὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν τῆ-

an race, but bearing, in fact, the same name as the father of *Uranus*, by whom the *Titan-Celts* were conducted into *Peloponnesus*.* His name was ACMON; but Sanchoniathon, who wrote, as it is believed, his history of *Phœnice* before the Trojan war, plainly intimates that this prince was styled, in the language of that country, ELION, (*most high*,) answering to the Greek title ΥΨΙΣΤΟΣ, *altissimus*.† In Phrygia there was a town called *Acmonia*;‡ and one of the *Cyclops* had the name of *Acmonides*.§ Hence it seems evident that the *Titan-Celtæ* were of the same race as the *Cyclops*, who constructed the *Tirynthian* citadel; and consequently, that the walls of *Tiryns* are of *Celtic* original.

We crossed the INACHUS at its junction with the *Charadrus*, in our road from *Tiryns* to ARGOS. The distance is about six English miles. Nothing can exceed the magnificence of the scenery all around the gulf; and it cannot be necessary to enumerate the interesting recollections that serve to render it still more impressive. In this ride from *Tiryns* to *Argos*, the prospect is particularly striking: the ancient capital, even in its state of wretchedness, with scarcely a wreck remaining, has still an appearance which is, in every sense of the term, *imposing*. It leads the traveller to believe that he shall find, upon his arrival, the most ample traces of its pristine greatness. This is principally owing to a cause already assigned; to the prodigious contribution made by the geological features of the country, in the plans of Grecian cities; where nature has herself supplied, upon a most stupendous scale, what art would otherwise more humbly have contrived. In various parts of Greece, where the labours of man have been swept away—where time, barbarians, nay, even earthquakes, and every other moral and physical revolution, have done their work, an eternal city seems still to survive; because the *Acropolis* the *stadium*, the *theatre*, the *sepulchres*, the *shrines*, and the *votive receptacles*, are so many "sure and firm-set" rocks; slightly modified indeed by the hand of man, but upon which the blast of desolation passes like the breath of a zephyr.

'Ρίαι συγγινόμενον τῆς Δία θιασάμενος, ἱμμανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ μεθ' ὁρμῆς ἐνεχθεὶς, ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ποταμὸν Καρμάνορα, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 'ΑΛΙΑΚΜΩΝ μετωνομάσθη. Plutarch. de Fluviis, pp. 58, 59. *Tolosæ*, 1615.

* See Pezron's "Antiquities of Nations," B. I. c. 9. p. 61. *Lond.* 1809.

† Sanchon. apud Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. i. c. 10.

‡ Step. Byzantin. *Acmonia*.

§ Ovid. Fast. IV. v. 283.

Argos is conspicuous in this class of cities: and if in the approach to it from *Tiryns*, where art seems to have rivalled nature in the eternity of her existence, the view be directed toward the sea, a similar and not less striking object is presented, in the everlasting citadel of *Nauplia*. The INACHUS, separating the two capitals of *Acrisius* and *Prœtus*, is now, as it was formerly, a wide, but shallow water course, sometimes entirely dry. It was dry when we passed. Callimachus mentions its beautiful waters.* On account of its periodical exsiccation, it has been considered by travellers as having been the subject of a greater alteration than it has really sustained. Ancient stories, it is true, pretended that it was once remarkable for suicides, committed by persons who had precipitated themselves into its *flood*:† but these events might happen in an occasional torrent, as well as in a perennial river.‡ A circumstance related by *Agathocles* the *Milesian*, and cited from his writings by *Plutarch*,§ in his description of the *Inachus*, may prove that the state of the river now does not differ from its ancient condition. *Agathocles* maintained, that being thunderstruck by Jupiter, it became dry in consequence of the heat.‖ *Strabo's* description of it is applicable to a water course, rather than to a flowing river.** *Plutarch* has stated a few observations connected with its natural history, which our time did not enable us to verify. Speaking of its *plants* and *minerals*, he says, that the herb CYURA grew in the bed of the river, celebrated for its properties in assisting parturition: it resembled *Peganum*;†† and this word the Latin translator of *Plutarch* has rendered by *Ruta*; perhaps from the extraordinary virtues ascribed universally to *Rue*, which caused it to receive at an early period in our country the name of "*Herb of grace*."‡‡ *Rue* has been celebrated as an antidote against poison, pestilence, and the devil; being used in *exorcisms*, and extolled and recommended by almost all medical writers from *Hippocrates* to *Boerhaave*. But the

* See the hymn of Callimachus upon the baths of Pallas.

† Vid. Plutarch. de Fluviis, pp. 58, 59. *Tolos.* 1615.

‡ "Most of the Grecian streams are winter torrents, and dry in the summer." *Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

§ Plutarch. de Fluv. ut suprâ, p. 60.

‖ Διὰ πανουργίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κεραυνωθέντα, ξηρὸν γενέσθαι. Ibid.

** Χαραδρώδης ποταμός. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 537. *Ed. Oxon.*

†† Πεγάνῳ προσόμοιος. Ibid.

‡‡ ——"there's RUE for *you*;—here's some for *me*;—we may call it *Herb of grace* o' sundays." *Shakspeare's Hamlet.*

herb called PEGANUM by *Theophrastus* and *Dioscorides* differs from *Ruta*.* The plant mentioned by *Plutarch* remains therefore to be ascertained; because, as Ῥυτὴ was the more ancient name, particularly in Peloponnesus,† and Πήγανον the more modern, it may be supposed that *Plutarch* would have bestowed the former appellation upon it, if it had been applicable. The same author mentions also the herb SELENE, producing a species of *foam* (ἀφρὸς,) which the peasants collected in the beginning of summer, and applied to their feet as an antidote against the venom of reptiles.‡ Its minerals were, the BERYLL,§ and a stone called CORYBAS,‖ of a raven colour, used as a charm against fearful dreams. The latter was probably nothing more than the dark fetid limestone, to which imaginary virtues are still ascribed in the east: we found it among the most ancient amulets in the catacombs of *Saccára* in Egypt. With regard to the former, it is exceedingly difficult at this time to determine the particular stone called *Beryll* by the ancients. We learn from *Epiphanius*, that it was of a *yellow* colour,** and found near mount Taurus. But there were other varieties of *Beryll*; one resembling the pupil of a serpent's eye;†† another, like *wax*, found near the mouth of the Euphrates.‡‡ Hence it is evident that different minerals bore this name among the ancients: the first variety may have been our *Topaz*; the second and third were, in all probability, different appearances of *Chalcedony*. Theophrastus does not mention the *Beryll*; and in Pliny's account of the stone, fifty different minerals may be included. He begins by placing it among emeralds;§§ and the account he gives of the *hexangular* shape preserved by the lapidaries in polishing, seems to prove that it had the natural form of our emerald, care being taken to polish it upon its lateral planes: but his subsequent remarks, added to his concluding observation that all *Beryll*s are liable to *capillary* blemishes, and to be vitiated by extraneous sub-

* "AS CELASTRUS from EUONYMUS." *See Martyn's edit. of Miller*, vol. II. *art* 1. *Lond.* 1807.

† Ibid. Vol. II. Part 2.

‡ Plutarch de Fluv. p. 62. *Tolos.* 1615.

§ Ibid. p. 60.

‖ Ibid. p. 64.

** Λίθος ΒΗΡΥΛΛΙΟΝ, γλαυκίζων μὲν ἐστι, κ. τ. λ. Epiphanius de xii Gemmis, quæ erant in veste Aaronis. p. 10. *Tigur.* 1565.

†† Ταῖς κόραις τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τοῦ δράκοντός ἐστι παραπλησία. Ibid.

‡‡ Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη πάλιν ὁμοία κηρῷ. Ibid.

§§ Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. p. 535. tom. III. *L. Bat.* 1635.

stances, brings his *Beryll* at once to our *Quartz;* and this also crystallizes in the *hexagonal* form.

We arrived at ARGOS, and were most hospitably received by the English *Baratary,** Mr. *Blasopûlo*, pronounced *Vlasopulo.* He presented us, upon our arrival, a silver medal of Ptolemy, and some beautiful *terra-cotta* vases found in sepulchres at a village called *Pesopodæ*, near the *Inachus*, situated to the north of *Argos.* The Albanian peasants, by whom they were discovered, had broken many more; not choosing to use vessels that had been taken from graves, and conceiving them to be of no value. They were all evidently Grecian; and made in an age when the arts were much advanced, if not in their most splendid era. A *patera* with two handles, of the most perfect form and exquisite workmanship, was almost covered with a white incrustation, like mortar, as hard as flint. After placing it for thirty-six hours in diluted muriatic acid, during all which time the extraneous cement dissolved with effervescence, there appeared upon its surface a beautiful black varnish, shining like polished jet, not in the slightest degree affected by the acid. Within the lower superficies of the foot of the vessel, the maker's name was expressed by a Greek monogram; proving either that a Grecian potter was proud to acknowledge this masterly piece of workmanship, or that it was usual to inscribe the names of places celebrated in the manufacture of *earthenware;* and in this case, the monogram may be intended for ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. It consisted of the letters ΜΕ, which had been inscribed with the point of a sharp instrument, and written in this manner:

There were other *pateras* of the same manufacture, but not entire: also a number of *lachrymatories*, and *libatory vessels*, adorned with monochrome painting; cups resembling our sugar basins, with covers, variously decorated by yellow, red, and black colours: singularly formed lamps, some representing human figures; smaller cups, and however, minute in their size, each of these had its double handle. The *Baratary* showed to us a very remarkable *intaglio*, because, although ancient, it had been cut in glass of a green colour; the only instance of the kind we had ever seen.

We requested that our host would in future spare no pains

* A *Baratary* is a person who enjoys the protection of some nation in alliance with the *Porte.* Mr. *Blasopûlo* was protected by the *British* nation.

in his endeavours to collect all the *terra cottas* found in the neighbourhood; promising him that we would find purchasers for them in England, and patrons who would amply repay him for all his expense and trouble as soon as he should give us information that he had succeeded in his researches. He said he would gladly undertake the work, if it were only to afford a proof of his gratitude for the protection he enjoyed from the British nation; but we received no intelligence from him afterwards. It is a most extraordinary fact, that in all the elaborate treatises we possess touching the funerals of the ancients, no satisfactory cause has been assigned for the quantity of earthen vases found in Grecian sepulchres. In a view of *Charon's Ferry*, which the author has seen, the *Cymba sutilis*, fashioned like a Welch *Coracle*, or rather an American canoe,* is represented freighted, beside passengers, with empty *Amphoræ:* but these are not the sort of vases found within any of the tombs; although sometimes, as *symbols of departed souls*, they were placed upon the outsides of the immediate recepatcles for the body.† The vases within the graves are of a much finer quality; and sometimes contain little gilded representations of herbs and fruit. There is a passage in the *dialogues of Lucian*, where *Mercury* is asked by *Charon* what he carries in the satchel, with which we see him so often represented; and he answers,‡ "*Lupines, so please you! and a supper for Hecate.*" This raillery seems to be levied against a practice among his countrymen, of providing deceased persons with some of the good things of this world, as a passport for their admission to the next; rather than as an allusion to the monthly offerings made at the expense of the wealthy, when a public (δεῖπνον) *supper* was provided for the poor.§ Hecate's supper, we may suppose, would be regulated by the rank and wealth of the deceased;‖ *lupines* being considered as the mean and miserable diet of the lowest persons: and hereby is explained the reason why sometimes a single vase is found,

* Herodotus (lib. i.) mentions the boats made of skins. The Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius (lib. ii. v. 168.) describes them as universally in use.

† See p. 70 of this volume.

‡ Θέρμους, εἰ δίλεις, καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης τὸ δεῖπνον. Luciani Dialog. Mort. *Charon, Menippus*, et *Hermes*.

§ See Potter on the ΕΚΑΤΗΣΙΑ. Archæologia Græca, vol. I. p. 386. *Lond.* 1751.

‖ Or by the *age;* for of this we have curious testimony in the following answer of *Apollo*, when interceding for the life of *Alcestis:*

Κἂν γηραὺς, δλῆται πλουσίως ταφήσεται.

of the poorest quality; and why, in certain instances, the number has been increased to forty, of the most costly workmanship. It should be observed, that *Lectisternium*, or the custom of giving a *supper* in a *temple* to the gods, may have originated in the funeral feast at *tombs*, from what has been already said of the origin of *temples*.* This practice of feasting at funerals has existed from the days of Homer;† and still exists among the descendants of the ancient *Celts*, both in Ireland and Scotland; and it was once common in England.‡ An author has indeed observed, that *Lectisternium* began about A. U. C. 356;§ that is to say, it was then adopted by the Romans; but it was a much older ceremony in Greece; and the occasion of its introduction among the Romans shows that it was connected with offerings for the *dead*,‖ as it was during a solemn supplication for deliverance from the plague. We do not know precisely the nature of the offering that was placed within any of these earthen vases, in Grecian tombs: the cake of flour and honey (μελιτοῦντα) was put into the mouth of the deceased, together with a piece of money (δανάκη) as *Charon's fare*, and not into any vessel by the side of the corpse: but there were other offerings, rarely noticed by any writer, of which these vessels may be examples; namely, the κόσμοι that were carried to the grave in honour of the funeral. We have before stated that the sepulchral *terra-cottas* have sometimes the form of *images*. Every person who attended the ceremony of a Grecian funeral brought a complimentary token (τὸν κόσμον) of his respect for the deceased; such as *Admetus*, in *Euripides*,** denied his father the liberty to give to his wife, which all the rest of the company had previously presented. The nature of the κόσμοι has never been explained; any more than of the ἱερτίρων ἀγάλματα,†† said to be carried by those who followed the corpse; by some translated *imagines*; by others, *grata*

* See vol. I. of these travels, Ch. XVII. p. 266.

† ———ὁ οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα,
Ἤτοι ὁ τῆς κτείνας δαίνυ τάφον Ἀργείοισιν
Μητρός τε στυγερῆς καὶ ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο.
Hom. Odyss. lib. iii.

‡ ———"the *funeral baked meats*
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables."
Shakspeare's Hamlet, Act. 1. sc. 2.

§ O. Walker on Coins and Medals, ch. vi. p. 89. *Lond.* 1697.

‖ "They joined themselves unto Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." *Psalms*, cvi. 28.

** Κόσμον δὲ τὸν Σὸν οὔποτ' ἡ δ' ἐνδύσεται. Euripid. in Alc. v. 630.

†† Ibid. v. 612.

munera. From the light thrown upon the subject by a view of the sepulchres themselves, there is every reason to believe that these beautiful *vases*, with all the *lamps*, *lachrymatories*, and *earthen vessels*, found in Grecian tombs, many of them being highly ornamented, were the gifts alluded to by Euripides, either to the *dead*, or to the *gods of the dead.* Hence, perhaps, we arrive at the meaning of the inscription mentioned in the fourteenth chapter as found upon an Athenian lamp,—"*Socrates, accept this animal!*" Pure clay was an offering to the gods.* Another curious subject of inquiry suggested by the sight of them is, Whence the custom originated? for it is undoubtedly of much earlier date than any thing purely Grecian. It is impossible to discuss this question here; but it may briefly be stated, that in the most ancient sepulchres of the *Celts*, in all parts of Europe, earthen vessels are also found, of the simplest form and rudest workmanship, apparently possessing a degree of antiquity far beyond the age denoted by any of the Grecian *terra-cottas.* Pausanias mentions a *terra-cotta Soros* that was dug up at Argos, supposed to have been that wherein Ariadne had been buried; thereby demonstrating its great antiquity.† Such vessels are also found in the *Tumuli* or *Mounds* of Tartary, and in North America; their situation, construction, form, and contents, being so similar, that there can be no hesitation in ascribing their origin to the same people.‡ The supposed tomb of *Theseus*, opened by *Cimon* son of *Miltiades*, in the Isle of *Scyros*, from the description given of the weapons found within it, appears to have been one of these aboriginal sepulchres. *De Steklin*, who was secretary to the Imperial Academy at Petersburgh, declared that there is not one instance of such a *Tumulus* being found to the northward of the fifty-eighth degree of north latitude.§ This, perhaps, is doubtful. A full account of those monuments ought to constitute an independent work; and whenever the subject is properly treated, the observations it is calculated to introduce will illustrate a part of history hitherto entirely unknown.

We employed the whole of this day in examining the

* See Greek Marbles, p. 70. *Camb.* 1809.
† Κεραμίαν σορόν. Paus. Corinth. c. 23. p. 164. ed. *Kuhnii.*
‡ See Harris's Tour into the Territory north-west of the Alleghany Mountains, p. 175. *Boston*, 1805.
§ Ibid. p. 171.

town and its ruins; a period certainly too short for the undertaking; but where much is to be effected, some things must be done quickly. *Argos* is a large, straggling place, full of cottages, with few good houses; and, as we have before alluded to *Celtic* remains in this part of *Peloponnesus*, it may be proper to mention, that the roofs here are not flat, as in almost all parts of the east, but slope like those of northern nations. The same style of building may be observed in Athens, and in other parts of Greece. Whether introduced by Albanian workmen, or owing to customs which anciently existed in the country, we have not been able to learn. The women were busied in collecting their cotton from the fields; and at this season of the year all the marriages take place. The present population consists of six thousand, including females and children.* There is a school kept by a Greek priest. Being desirous to know what the children were taught, we visited the master, who seemed pleased by our inquiries, as if he had bestowed pains upon his scholars. He said they were instructed in writing, arithmetic, astronomy, physic, and rhetoric. About forty years before, it had been customary for the principal families of *Nauplia* and *Argos* to send their children to *Athens* for instruction. The consul *Nauplia* had been there educated: it was in giving us an account of his journeys to Athens that we first heard any mention made of the *Statue of Ceres* at *Eleusis;* for this had excited his curiosity when a boy, and was regularly visited by him in his way to and from Athens. The houses in *Argos* are built with a degree of regularity, and fitted up with some comforts uncommon in this part of the world, although, in other respects, wretched hovels. They are all ranged in right lines, or in parallel lines; and each house consisting of a single story has an oven; so that even the Albanians do not bake their unleavened cakes upon the hearth, as it is usual elsewhere in their cottages. From *Argos*, the distance to *Mantinea* is only eight hours; and it is but a day's journey to *Tripolizza*, the capital of the *Morea*. When we heard this, and the pressing invitation of our *Baratary* to visit with him a part of *Arcadia*, whose mountains are actually visible from the citadel, and also to extend our journey to *Misitra*, we glad-

* "Not four thousand," according to Mr. Gell; (*Itin. of Greece*, p. 69.) perhaps not including children and women.

ly ordered horses for the expedition; but a powerful antidote to enterprise, the *Malaria* fever, returning amongst us with its most violent paroxysms during the night, had so considerably reduced our stock of energies before the morning, that, with deep regret, we were compelled to abandon the design of seeing *Mantinea*, *Megalopolis*, and *Sparta*, and to adhere to our original plan. How few are the travellers who have seen the interior of the *Morea!* and in that small number, where may we look for *one* who has given any intelligence that may be called *information*, respecting the ruins of the cities which that country is known to contain?* Perhaps the time is at hand when we shall know more of a region as easily to be visited as the county of Derbyshire, and where the traveller is not exposed to half the dangers encountered every night in the neighbourhood of London. Groundless apprehensions, calculated only to alarm children, concerning imaginary banditti, and the savage nature of its inhabitants, have been hitherto powerful enough to prevent travellers from exploring its interior; but these are beginning to vanish; and we may hope that many years will not elapse before the shepherds of *Arcadia* and *Laconia*, of *Messenia* and *Elis*, will have become as good guides to the antiquities of their mountains and valleys, as the natives of *Puzzoli* now are to the ruins of *Baiæ*.

The antiquities of Argos, once so numerous,† may now be comprised within a very short list. It will be useful for

* Yes! there is *one* traveller, whose qualifications for this purpose are well known, and have been already noticed in this work; but who could never be prevailed upon to estimate the value of his own observations high enough to induce him to publish them. This traveller is *John Hawkins, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge;* and as any thing coming from one who has the satisfaction to rank among his friends may be imputed to partiality, an extract from the *MS. Letters of colonel Squire* to his brother may here be considered appropriate. "With Greece" (*says col. Squire*) "our most learned scholars have but a small acquaintance: few travellers have published their observations; many events in history have been misunderstood; and translators and commentators have been entirely bewildered, owing to their ignorance of its topography. The writers to whom we refer as our best authorities, are trifling, inaccurate, and superficial. There is, however, a gentleman in England, *Mr. Hawkins*, brother of sir Christopher Hawkins, a man of shrewd sagacity, erudition, and indefatigable exertion, who has explored every part of the country, and now possesses very ample means to render a signal service by the publication of the materials he has collected." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

† See the long list of them in the Second Book of *Pausanias*, chapters 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, from p. 149 to p. 167, of the edition by Kuhnius. *Lips.* 1696.

other travellers if we give a brief summary, omitting statues and altars, as they existed in the second century; and then introduce a description of the principal remains, as we found them; for these are not likely to be much affected by any lapse of time. It is useless to refer to Strabo upon this occasion, because he was not upon the spot; but *Pausanias*, as αὐτόπτης, coming from *Mycenæ* to *Argos*, before he arrives at the *Inachus*, mentions the *Hieron* of *Ceres Mysias;* containing one of those curious temples of which we discovered some remains in *Epidauria;* (Ναὸς ὀπτῆς πλίνθου) not merely a temple *roofed* with *baked tiles*, (for it stood within another building originally itself *roofed*, although in ruins when *Pausanias* saw it,) but actually a *terra-cotta temple*. The fragments of this building may yet be discerned; although we could find no part of it so entire as the beautiful *terra-cotta* cornice and frieze we had been so fortunate as to discover in *Epidauria*. Thence entering *Argos*, by the *gate of Lucina*, the same author notices in the lower city, as the *most conspicuous** of all the *temples*, that of *Apollo Lycias*. Afterwards, it is difficult to enumerate all the other temples mentioned by him, because we do not distinctly know what he intends by the word Ἱερὸν, as distinguished from Ναὸς. Thus, for example, he mentions the *most ancient temple*† of Fortune, and the *Hieron* of the Hours.‡ We have proved already that *Hieron* does not necessarily signify a *temple*, nor even a *building:* any thing containing what was *sacred* received this appellation; a *cave;* a *grove;* a *portable shrine;* and perhaps a *clepsydra*. There were, however, many *temples* in *Argos*. There were also *sepulchres* and *cœnotaphs;* a *theatre;* a *forum;* a *mound of earth*§ believed to be *the tomb of the head of the Gorgon Medusa;* a *gymnasium;* and a *subterraneous edifice*. After this, beginning his ascent toward the *Acropolis*, *Pausanias* notices the *Hieron* of *Juno Acræa*, and a *temple of Apollo*, situated upon a *ridge* called *Diras*.‖ Here was an *oracle*, where answers were given so lately as the time when *Pausanias* saw the temple. Close to this temple there was also a *stadium;*** and this

* Ἐπιφανέστατον. lib ii. c. 19. p. 152. ed. *Kuhnii*.
† Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου ΝΑΟΣ. Ibid. c. 20. p. 154.
‡ Ὡρῶν ΙΕΡΟΝ ἐστὶν. Ibid. p. 155.
§ Χῶμα γῆς ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν Μεδούσης λέγουσι τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλήν. Ibid. p. 159.
‖ Ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται ΔΕΙΡΑΣ. Ibid. c. 24. p. 165.
** Ibid.

circumstance is enough to prove that by DIRAS *Pausanias* does not mean the summit of the hill; for, after leaving the *stadium*, he continues his ascent by the *monument of the sons of Ægyptus*, on the *left-hand* side of his road, until he arrives (ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ) upon the *summit* called *Larissa*, where he finds the temples of *Jupiter Larissæus* and of *Minerva*. And in a subsequent part of his description, speaking of the roads from *Argos* to *Mantinœa*,* and to *Lyrcea*,† he says they began from the gates near *Diras;* consequently the *Oracular Temple* must have been lower than the summit, although upon the hill of the *Acropolis*. With so much information, and some of the monuments yet remaining in *Argos*, it would not be difficult for a traveller, having leisure and opportunity, to complete a plan of the ancient city. This our time would not permit; but we ascertained some of the antiquities: and first the THEATRE, upon the south-eastern side of the hill of the Acropolis; one of the principal objects noticed by *Pausanias* upon entering the city. Some of the SEPULCHRES also may be observed.

The THEATRE is a very remarkable structure. As usual, it is entirely an excavation of the rock; but it differs from every other theatre we saw in Greece, in having two wings, with seats, one on either side of the *Cavea;* so that it might be described as *a triple Coilon*. We could not conceive for what purpose these side cavities were designed; unless for minor representations; or as steps in ascending to the central sweep; but if the latter were intended, there would have been no necessity for the curved shape that has been given to them; making the whole structure wear the appearance rather of *three* theatres than of *one*. Within the centre *Cavea* there were sixty-four seats remaining; the height of each seat being thirteen inches. Opposite to this structure are the remains of a very large edifice, built entirely of tiles; probably a part of the *castellum* (χωρίον) which was near to the *theatre;* called *criterion*, once a court or tribunal of judgment. Above the theatre‡ was the *Hieron of Venus;* and this we certainly found. Within this temple

* Pausan. Corinth. c. 25. p. 167.

† Ibid.

‡ The expression is ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον: and this by Amasæus (*Vid. Paus. Cor.* c. 20. p. 156. *ed. Kuhnii*) is rendered *supra theatrum;* but ὑπὲρ, in many instances, is by *Pausanias* used to signify *beyond;* that is to say, the next object occurring in the line of his observation. In this instance the building alluded to was above the theatre, upon the hill toward the Acropolis.

there was a statue of the poetess *Telesilla*, the MANUELLA SANCHO of her day; who, like the modern heroine of *Saragossa*, at the head of a band of female warriors, repelled from the walls of the city the enemies of her country, when the *Lacedæmonians* attacked *Argos*. "She was represented," says *Pausanias*,* "standing upon a pillar, with the books of her poetry scattered at her feet, in the act of regarding a helmet which she was about to put upon her head." And when the *Spanish Telesilla*, who has so nobly followed the example offered by her Grecian predecessor, shall have a monument consecrated to the memory of her illustrious achievements, her countrymen may find in this description a classical model for its design. The site of the *Hieron* is now occupied by a Greek chapel, but it contains the remains of columns whose capitals are of the *most ancient* Corinthian order; a style of building unknown in our country, scarcely a model of it having ever been seen in England; although it far exceeds, in beauty and simplicity, the gaudy and crowded foliage of the *later* Corinthian. The temples of Venus being generally of the *Corinthian* order, we have reason to believe that the *Hieron*, in this instance, was one of them; and we have therefore, in this chapel, another point of observation, as a beacon, in ascertaining the antiquities enumerated by *Pausanias*. We observed this building in our way down from the citadel toward the sea; therefore it will be better to describe the objects first noticed in our ascent from the modern town.

Going up to the fortress, we saw toward our *left*, that is to say, upon the north-eastern side of the hill of the *Acropolis*, *the ridge* called *Diras* by *Pausanias*, where the temple of *Apollo Diradiotes* was situated. A monastery now occupies the site of the *temple*, standing upon a high rock, with precipices above and below. It is said to contain a cavern, well suited to the contrivance necessary for the *oracles*† delivered here in the time of the author. Afterwards, as we proceeded, we saw the remains of ancient works also upon our *left*; and it was upon his *left* hand in ascending to the *Acropolis* that *Pausanias* observed a monument of the sons of *Ægyptus*.‡

* Vid. Pans. in Corinth. c. 20. p. 156, 157. *ed. Kuhnii.*

† See *Gell's Itin. of Greece*, p. 67. Mr. Gell says, there is here also space enough for a *Stadium*; and this agrees with the description of *Pausanias*, who says the *Stadium* adjoined the *Temple of Apollo*.

‡ Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὁδοῦν ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων καὶ, ταύτῃ μνῆμα. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 24. p. 165. ed. *Kuhnii.*

The way up a mountain is little liable to alteration; and probably the track we pursued was nearly, if not entirely, the same that was trodden by him. The fortress itself is evidently a modern building, for its walls contain fragments of antiquities used as materials in building them;* but on the sides and lower part of it we observed the remains of *Cyclopéan* architecture, as ancient as the citadel of *Tiryns*, and built in the same style. This structure is mentioned by *Pausanias*, in his seventh book; where he states that the inhabitants of *Mycenæ* were unable to demolish the wall of the Argives, built, like that of *Tiryns*, by the *Cyclops*.† The *Cyclopéan walls* and *towers* of *Argos* are also noticed by *Euripides*, *Polybius*, and *Seneca*. Hence we had a glorious view of almost all *Argolis*, and great part of the *Arcadian* territory, even to the mountains of *Laconia*, visible from this eminence.‡ Placed centrally with regard to the *Sinus Argolicus*, the eye surveys the *Laconian* and *Argolic* promontories; and looks down upon *Nauplia*, *Tiryns*, and all the south-western side of the gulf, almost with the same facility as it regards the streets of *Argos*. We saw the *Alcyonian* lake in the last direction, now a weedy pool:§ the natives of Argos relate of it, as did *Pausanias*,‖ that nothing swims upon its waters. On this side of the gulf we saw also the plain of *Lerna*, once fabled to be infested with the *Hydra*; and, in the same direction, the road leading to *Tripolizza*, until it lost itself in the mountains; following with our eyes great part of a journey we were desirous to accomplish more effectually.

Hence we descended toward the sea; and came to the remains of the *Temple of Venus* before mentioned, above the

* Mr. Gell found here a very ancient inscription; and says that *Villoison* intimates the existence of a very curious one at Argos. *See Itin of Greece*, p. 68. *Lond.* 1810.

† Pausan. in Corinth. lib. vii. c. 25. p. 569. ed. *Kuhnii*.

‡ See this prospect as engraved from a most accurate drawing made upon the spot by Mr. Gell. *Itin. of Greece*, *Plate* XIX. p. 68. *Lond.* 1810.

§ There cannot, however, be much alteration in this piece of water since the time of *Pausanias*; who describes it as *a pool*, measuring in diameter only one third of a stadium (*about seventy-three yards*,) and lying amongst grass and bulrushes. (*Vid. Pausan. in Corinth.* c. 37. p. 200. ed. *Kuhnii*.) As to its prodigious depth, it would be curious to ascertain what foundation there was for the account given of its fathomless nature, by the same author; who relates that Nero could not reach the bottom with lead fastened to ropes many stadia in length.

‖ The account given of it by *Pausanias* is, that it draws persons to the bottom who venture to swim upon its surface. The same sort of story is often related, by the common people in this country, of any deep water.

theatre, where the Greek chapel is situated.* We were unable to discover any remains of the *Stadium;* but this, in all probability, will not elude the researches of other travellers. After again visiting the theatre, we found at the foot of the hill of the Acropolis, one of the most curious *tell-tale* remains yet discovered among the vestiges of pagan priest-craft: it was nothing less than one of the *Oracular* shrines of *Argos* alluded to by *Pausanias*, laid open to inspection, like the toy a child has broken in order that he may see the contrivance whereby it was made to speak. A more interesting sight for modern curiosity can hardly be conceived to exist among the ruins of any Grecian city. In its original state, it had been a *temple;* the farther part from the entrance, where the altar was, being an excavation of the rock, and the front and roof constructed with *baked tiles.* The altar yet remains, and part of the *fictile* superstructure: but the most remarkable part of the whole is a secret subterraneous passage, terminating behind the altar; its entrance being at a considerable distance toward the right of a person facing the altar; and so cunningly contrived as to have a small aperture, easily concealed, and level with the surface of the rock. This was barely large enough to admit the entrance of a single person; who, having descended into the narrow passage, might creep along until he arrived immediately behind the centre of the altar; where, being hid by some colossal statue or other screen, the sound of his voice would produce a most imposing effect among the humble votaries, prostrate beneath, who were listening in silence upon the floor of the sanctuary. We amused ourselves for a few minutes by endeavouring to mimic the sort of solemn farce acted upon these occasions: and as we delivered a mock oracle, *ore rotundo*, from the cavernous throne of the altar, a reverberation, caused by the sides of the rock, afforded a tolerable specimen of the "*will of the gods*," as it was formerly made known to the credulous votaries of this now-forgotten shrine. There were not fewer than twenty-five of these juggling places in *Peloponnesus*, and as many in the single province of *Bœotia:* and surely it will never

* Mr. Gell, afterwards, found here a broken inscription, "evidently," he says, "relating to *Venus*." It were to be wished, although a fragment, that he had preserved and published it; as an inscription so decidedly identifying one of the *beacons* mentioned by *Pausanias* would materially tend to facilitate future researches upon the spot. *See Gell's Itin. of Greece*, p. 64. *Lond.* 1810.

again become a question among learned men whether the answers in them were given by the inspiration of evil spirits, or whether they proceeded from the imposture of priests; neither can it again be urged that they ceased at the birth of Christ; because *Pausanias* bears testimony to their existence at *Argos* in the second century.* Perhaps it was to the particular shrine now described that his evidence refers; its position, however, does not exactly warrant this opinion: for the oracle he mentions corresponded rather with the situation of the monastery upon a *ridge* of the hill of the Acropolis. In this situation he places other shrines; namely, the *Hieron* of *Jupiter Saviour*, together with a *cell* (οἴκημα) or *abiding place*, where the Argive women were wont to mourn the death of Adonis :† and as not only heathen *deities*, but also *heroes*, were rendered subservient to those purposes of priestcraft, the worship of *Adonis* might have contributed to swell the list of temples where *oracles* were delivered. Near to the same spot we saw the remains of an *aqueduct*: and to this there seems also an allusion by *Pausanias*, in the obscure account he gives of a channel conducting the water of the *Cephissus* beneath a temple dedicated to that river.‡ But there are other appearances of subterraneous structures requiring considerable attention; some of these are upon the hill: they are covered, like the Cyclopéan gallery of *Tiryns*, with large approaching stones, meeting so far as to form an arched way which is only visible where these stones are open.§ Among them the traveller may look for the subterraneous edifice with the *brazen thalamus* constructed by *Acrisus* for his daughter.‖ There is also a large church at the southern extremity of the town, containing fragments of *Ionic* columns and inscriptions.** One of the mosques is said to have been erected with blocks brought from the grove of Æsculapius in Epidauria :†† the same circumstance was also alluded to by Chandler.‡‡ Perhaps the time may ar-

* Μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς. Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 24. p. 165. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν σωτῆρος. καὶ παρίασιν εἰς τὸ οἴκημα, ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἄδωνιν αἱ γυναῖκες Ἀργεῖαι ὀδύρονται. Ibid. c. 20. p. 156.

‡ Pausan. in Corinth. c. 20. p. 156. ed. *Kuhnii*.

§ Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 66. *Lond.* 1810.

‖ Pausan. ut supra, c. 23. p. 164.

** Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 69.

†† Ibid.

‡‡ See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 226. *Oxf.* 1776. Also the preceding chapter of this volume.

rive when a more enlightened people than the Turks will again bring to light the valuable antiquities there concealed; although the acquisition should be obtained even at so great an expense as that of taking down and rebuilding a mahometan place of worship.

We have now concluded our very cursory survey of *Argos*; but we shall not quit the relics of this memorable city, without briefly noticing a circumstance in its history to which little attention seems to have been paid by the compilers of Grecian annals; namely, its illustrious character, as founded on the noble examples offered in the actions of its citizens. If *Athens*, by arts, by military talents, and by costly solemnities, became "one of the *Eyes* of Greece," there was in the humanity of *Argos*, and in the good feeling frequently displayed by its inhabitants, a distinction which comes nearer to the *heart*. Something characteristic of the people may be observed even in a name given to one of their divinities; for they worshipped a "*God of meekness*."* It may be said, perhaps, of the *Argive* character, that it was less splendid than the *Athenian*, and less rigid than the *Lacedæmonian*, but it was also less artificial; and the contrast it exhibited, when opposed to the infamous profligacy of *Corinth*, where the manners of the people, corrupted by wealth and luxury, were further vitiated by the great influx of foreigners,† rendered *Argos*, in the days of her prosperity, one of the most enviable cities of Greece. The stranger who visited *Athens* might indeed regard with an eager curiosity the innumerable trophies everywhere suspended, of victors in her splendid games; might admire her extensive porticoes, crowded with philosophers; might gaze with wonder at the productions of her artists; might revere her magnificent temples;—but feelings more affecting were called forth in beholding the numerous monuments of the Argives, destined to perpetuate the memory of individuals who had rendered themselves illustrious only by their virtues.‡

* The Argives gave to one of their gods the name, Μειλιχίου Διός, of the *Meek God, or Mild Jupiter*. Vid. Pausan. in Cor. c. 20. p. 154.

† "Ex hâc peregrinorum hominum colluvie, necesse erat et civium mores corrumpi. Quapropter Lacedæmonii, quorum gravis et severa semper fuit Resp. nullos ad se peregrinos, recipiebant, ne alienigenis ritibus urbis optimè constitutæ status everteretur." *Gerbelius in Corinth. Descript. ap. Gronov. Thes. Græc. Antiq. tom.* IV. p. 51. *L. Bat.* 1699.

‡ Witness the filial piety of *Cleobis* and *Biton*, to whom the Argives also erected statues at *Delphi*; the heroism of *Telesilla*, in rescuing the city from its enemies; the conduct of another Argive woman, who saved her son's life by slaying *Pyrrhus*; &c. &c. "*Hæc urbs plurimis exemplis ad virtutem nos excitantibus abundavit.*" Gerbel ap. Gronov. &c. p. 52.

On Tuesday morning, November the tenth, we took leave of the hospitable *Baratary*, fraught with a rich cargo of Grecian pottery; and set out for *Mycenæ*, the city of *Agamemnon*, anticipating a treat among those ruins for which *Lusieri* had already prepared us. We entered the spacious Plain of *Argos*, level as the still surface of a calm sea, and extending in one rich field, with the most fertile soil, from the mouths of the *Inachus* toward the north. Having again crossed the dry channel of the ΧΑΡΑΔΡΩΔΗΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ, and looking back toward the *Larissean* citadel, the lofty conical hill of the Acropolis appeared, rising in the midst of this plain, as if purposely contrived to afford a bulwark for dominion, and for the possession of this valuable land; which, like a vast garden, is walled in by mountains.* Such was the inviting aspect exhibited by the Argive territory to the earliest settlers in this country. No labour was necessary, as amidst the forests and unbroken soil of the north of Europe and of America: the colonies, upon their arrival, found an open field, with a rich impalpable soil, already prepared by Providence to yield an abundant harvest to the first adventurer who should scatter seed upon its surface. We cannot, therefore, wonder, that within a district not containing more square miles than the most considerable of our English parishes, there should have been established, in the earliest periods of its history, four capital cities, *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, *Tiryns*, and *Nauplia*, each contending with the other for superiority; or that every roaming colony who should chance to explore the *Argolic* Gulf endeavour to fortify a position upon some rock near to the plain, and struggle for its possession. This is all that seems necessary to illustrate the first dawnings of government, not only within this district, but in every part of the *Hellenian* territories; and the fables transmitted from one generation to another, concerning the contest between *Neptune* and *Juno* for the *country*, as between *Neptune* and *Minerva* for *Attica*, it may be regarded as so many records of those physical revolutions, in preceding ages, which gave birth to these fertile regions; when the waters of the sea slowly retired from the land; or, according to the language of poetry and fable, were said to have *reluctantly* abandoned the plains of Greece.†

* See Vol. II. chap. IV. p. 45, on the allurements offered to the earlier settlers in Greece by the appearance of the country.

† By attention to natural phenomena upon the spot, some light may certainly

About five miles from *Argos*, on the *left* side of the road we found the remains of an ancient structure, which at first we supposed to be those of the *Heræum*, a temple once common to the two cities of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*; when the twin brothers *Acrisius* and *Prœtus*, who were grandsons of *Belus*, possessed the two capitals, and worshipped the same tutelary Deity.* This position of it corresponds, in some degree, with its situation, according to *Pausanias*; but not in all respects. He describes the distance from *Mycenæ* to *Argos* as equal to fifty stadia, (six and a quarter miles,) and the *Heræum* as being at the distance of fifteen stadia (one mile and seven furlongs) from that city. But he places it to the *left*† of the city, and upon the *lower part*‡ of a *mountain* near a *flowing stream* called *Eleutherion*. The last observations do not permit us to consider the remains of this structure as being any part of the *Heræum*; as they are situated in the plain, and not close to any rivulet or water course. But near to the structure there was another ruin, whose foundations more resembled the oblong form of a *temple*: it was built with *baked bricks*, and originally lined with marble. Here, then, there seems every reason to believe we discovered the remains of the whole *Hieron* of *Ceres Mysias*, noticed by *Pausanias* in his road from *Mycenæ* to *Argos*, by a description very applicable to these ruins. He says§ the building had no roof, but contained within another temple of *brickwork*; and that the traveller going thence toward *Argos*, arrived at the river *Inachus*. In the different facts the reader may have collected from this and the preceding chapter, concerning the remains of ancient art in *Argolis*, he will have perceived the very general prevalence of *terra cottæ* in works of much higher antiquity than it is usual to suppose were constructed of this material. A vulgar notion has prevailed, that this style of building was for the most part *Roman*. When *tiles* or *bricks* have been found in the walls and foundations of edifices, among the ruins of eastern cities, it has been usual to attribute to the structure a *Roman* origin,

be thrown upon the ancient fables of the country. A very happy illustration of the origin of the *Hydra*, which infested the plain of *Lerna*, near *Argos*, was taken from the *MS. Journal of the earl of Aberdeen*, by *Mr. Gell*, and is found in a note to his work. *See Itin. of Greece*, p. 79. *Lond.* 1810.

* Καὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον εἶναι κοινὸν ἱερὸν τοῖς πρὸς ταῖς Μυκήναις ἀμφοῖν, κ. τ. λ. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 539. ed. *Oxon.*

† Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 17. p. 147. ed. *Kuhnii.*

‡ Vid. Pausan. et supra.

§ Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. p. 150. ed. *Kuhnii.*

and consequently, to consider works of this kind as of a date posterior to the decline of the eastern empires. That this mode of ascertaining the age of buildings is liable to error may, perhaps, now be evident. The statement of a single fact, if other satisfactory evidence could not be adduced, would be sufficient to prove the antiquity of such works; for example, that of the *tile*, or *brick*,* whereby the scull of Pyrrhus was fractured, when he attempted to take the city of *Argos* by storm. Indeed, in some instances, the Romans, finding ancient structures in Greece had gone to decay because they were built with *baked* or *crude tiles* and *bricks*, repaired them with different materials. Of this there is an example recorded by *Pausanias*, and already alluded to in the account of *Epidauria*.† After leaving this ruin, we returned into the road; and quitting the plain, bore off upon our right, toward the east, by a rocky ascent along the channel of a water course, toward the regal residence of *Agamemnon*, and city of *Perseus*, built before the war of Troy, full thirteen centuries anterior to the Christian era. Already the walls of the *Acropolis* began to appear upon an eminence between two lofty conical mountains; the place is now called *Carvato*. Even its ruins were unknown eighteen hundred years ago, when *Strabo* wrote his account of the *Peloponnesus*: he says of *Mycenæ*, that not a vestige of the city remained.‡ Eighty of its heroes accompanied the Spartans to the defile of *Thermopylæ*, and shared with them the glory of their immortal deed;§ this so much excited the jealousy of the sister city, *Argos*, that it was never afterwards forgiven; the Argives, stung by the recollection of the opportunity they had thus lost of signalizing themselves, and unable to endure the superior fame of their neighbour, made war against *Mycenæ*, and destroyed the city:‖ this happened in the first year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad;** nearly five centuries before the birth of Christ. "In that region," says *Pausanias*, which is called *Argolis*, nothing is remembered of greater antiquity than this circum-

* Κεράμος. Vid. Pausan. Attica, c. 13. p. 33 ed. *Kuhnii*.
† Pausan. Corinth. c. 27. See also the preceding chapter of this volume.
‡ Ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὐρίσκεσθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 540. ed. *Oxon*.
§ Pausan. Corinth. c. 16. p. 148. ed. *Kuhnii*.
‖ Μυκήνας δὲ Ἀργεῖοι παθεῖλον ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας. Ibid.
** B. C. 466. See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 230, *Oxf.* 1776.

stance." It* is not merely the circumstance of seeing the architecture and the sculpture of the *heroic ages*, which renders a view of *Mycenæ* one of the highest gratifications a literary traveller can experience; the consideration of its remaining, at this time, exactly as *Pausanias* saw it in the second century, and in such a state of preservation that an *alto-relievo* described by him yet exists in the identical position he has assigned for it, adds greatly to the interest excited by those remarkable ruins: indeed, so singularly does the whole scene correspond with his account of the place, that, in comparing them together it may be supposed a single hour had not elapsed since he was himself upon the spot.

The first thing that we noticed, as we drew nigh to the gate of the city, was an ancient *tumulus* of immense size upon our *right*, precisely similar, in its form and covering, to those conical sepulchres so frequently the subject of allusion in these Travels; whether called *barrows*, *cairns*, *mounds heaps*, or by whatever other name, (as for example, *têpe* by the Turks, and τάφος and χῶμα by the Greeks,) they are now pretty well understood to have all of them reference to a people of the most remote antiquity (possibly the *Celtæ*,) and to have been raised for *sepulchral purposes*. Particular stress is now laid upon this circumstance, for reasons that will presently appear. This *tumulus* has evidently been opened since is was first constructed, and thereby its interior has been disclosed; but at what time this happened is quite uncertain; probably in a very remote age, from the appearance it now exhibits. The entrance is no longer concealed; like that of a tomb described in the first part of Travels, as found upon the *Cimmerian Bosporus*; the door is in the side of the sepulchre, and there are steps in front of it. A small aperture in the vertex of the cone has also been rendered visible, by the removal of the soil; but this, as well as the entrance in the side, was once closed, when the mound was entire, and the *tumulus* remained inviolate. All the rest of the external part is a covering of earth and turf; such as we see in every country where the *tumuli* appear. We ascended along the outside to the top: and had it not been for the circumstances now mentioned, we should have considered it in all respects similar to the tombs in the Plain of Troy, or in the south of Russia, or in any of

* Ἐν γὰρ τῇ νῦν Ἀργολίδι ὀνομαζομένῃ τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα οὐ μνημονεύουσιν Pausan. ut supra. c. 15. p. 144.

the Northern countries of Europe. But this *sepulchre*, among modern travellers, has received the appellation of *The brazen Treasury of Atreus and his Sons;* an assumption requiring more of historical document in its support than has yet been adduced to substantiate the fact. In the first place, it may be asked, what rational pretext can be urged to prove, either that the treasury of Atreus was *brazen*, or that this was the treasury? The whole seems to rest upon the discovery of a few brass nails within the sepulchre; used evidently for the purpose of fastening on something whereby the interior surface of the cone was formerly lined: but allowing that the whole of the inward sheathing consisted of *brass* plates, what has this fact to do with the *subterraneous cells* or *dwellings* (ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα) where the *treasures of Atreus* were deposited? *Cells of Bronze* were consistent with the ancient customs of all Argolis: there was a *cell* of this description at *Argos*, used for the incarceration of *Danaë*:* a similar respository existed in the citadel of *Mycenæ*, said to have been the hiding place of *Eurytheus*, when in fear of *Hercules*.† But this sepulchre is *without* the walls of the *Acropolis;* nor can it be credited that any sovereign of *Mycenæ* would construct a treasury *without* his citadel, fortified as it was by *Cyclopéan* walls. *Pausanias*, by whom alone this *subterraneous treasury* of *Atreus* is mentioned, clearly and indisputably places it *within the Citadel;* close by the sepulchre of the same monarch. Having passed the gate of the city, and noticed the *lions* over the lintel; he speaks of the *Cyclopéan* wall surrounding the city, and describes the antiquities it enclosed. "Among the ruins of Mycenæ," says he,‡ "there is a spring called *Perséa*, and the *subterraneous cells* of *Atreus* and of his sons where they kept their treasures: and there, indeed, is the *Tomb of Atreus* and of all those whom, returning with Agamemnon from Troy, Ægisthus slew at supper." *Cassandra* being, of course, included among the number, he observes, that this circumstance had caused a dispute between the inhabitants of *Mycenæ* and those of *Amyclæ* concerning the *monument*

* Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 23. p. 164. Ed. *Kuhnii.*

† Apollodorus, lib. ii. c. 4. *Goett.* 1782.

‡ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις κρήνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Περσέα, καὶ Ἀτρέως καὶ τῶν παίδων ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, ἔνθα οἱ θησαυροί σφίσι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν Ἀτρέως, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσους σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐκανήκοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δειπνίσας κατεφόνευσιν Αἴγισθος. Pausan. Corinth. c. 16. p. 147. Ed. *Kuhnii.*

(Μνῆμα) of *Cassandra*, whether of the two cities really possessed it. Then he adds, that another monument is also there that of *Agamemnon* himself, and of his charioteer *Eurymedon*: and he closes this chapter, saying,* "the sepulchres of *Clytæmnestra* and *Ægisthus* are *without the walls*; not being worthy of a situation where *Agamemnon* and those slain with him were laid." From these observations of *Pausanias* we learn two things; *first*, that this sepulchre could not have been the *Treasury of Atreus*, because it is *without* the walls of the Acropolis; *secondly*, that it cannot be the *monument* (Μνῆμα) *of Agamemnon*, according to *Pausanias*, because this was *within* the citadel. If the names assigned by him to the different monuments of *Mycenæ* may be considered as duly authorized by history, which, perhaps, is doubtful, we might consider it as the *Heroum of Perseus*, with whose situation it seems accurately to correspond. As soon as *Pausanias* leaves the *Citadel*, and begins his journey toward *Argos*, the first object noticed by him is the HEROUM; describing it as upon his *left* hand.† His account therefore agrees with the position of this magnificent sepulchre, which is worthy of being at once both the *tomb* and the *temple* of the consecrated founder of *Mycenæ*. Here, if we had no other document to consult than the description of Greece by that author, we should be compelled to terminate our inquiry; but, fortunately for our subject, we are able to select, as a guide upon this occasion, a much more ancient writer than *Pausanias*; one, indeed, who has cast but a glimmering light among the ruins of *Mycenæ*, but every ray of it is precious. It was here that SOPHOCLES laid the scene of his *Electra*; and evidence sufficient is afforded in the present appearance of the place, to prove that his allusions to the city were founded upon an actual view of its antiquities. When it is recollected that these allusions were made nearly six centuries before the time of *Pausanias*, every inference fairly deducible from them is entitled to consideration. It is worthy of remark, that *Sophocles* was thirty-one years of age when *Mycenæ* was laid waste by the Argives ‡.

* Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ ἐτάφη καὶ Αἴγισθος ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους. ἐντὸς δὲ ἀπηξιώθησαν, ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνων τε αὐτὸς ἔκειτο καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ φονευθέντες. Pausan. ut supra.

† Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἩΡΩΟΝ. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 18. p. 149. ed. *Kuhnii*.

‡ According to the Arundel Marbles, *Sophocles* died B. C. 406, at the age of ninety-one, sixty years after the capture and destruction of *Mycenæ*, by the Argives.

consequently he had ample opportunity of visiting the city prior to that event, and of gathering from its inhabitants the circumstances of its ancient history; but *Pausanias* writing so long afterwards, although upon the spot, could only collect from oral testimony, and tradition, his account of the antiquities: indeed, it has been already shown, that, when speaking of *Mycenæ*, he says the inhabitants of Argolis remembered nothing more ancient than the circumstances attending its downfall.*

In the beginning of the *Electra* the prospect is described as it was viewed by a spectator upon his arrival at *Mycenæ*; and the beauties of the poet can only be adequately estimated by persons who have been upon the spot. The best commentary upon the drama itself would be an accurate representation of the very scene, as it is exhibited to a spectator who is placed before the *Propylæa* of the Acropolis of *Mycenæ*. When the companion of *Orestes* is made to say, upon coming to the gates, that "*Argos* is present to the view,† and that the *Heræum* is upon the *left* hand,"‡ the Scholiast has been so confounded as to make of *Argos* and *Mycenæ* one city; whereas the speaker is only describing what the eye commands from that situation. *Argos* is thence in view; making a conspicuous object upon the *right* hand;§ as the *Heræum*, according to *Pausanius*, also did upon the *left*.‖ These were objects naturally striking the attention in the noble prospect from the entrance to the city; and there could not have been an individual within the theatre at Athens when this tragedy was presented, who had ever visited *Mycenæ*, that would not have been sensible of the taste and accuracy of *Sophocles*, in making those remarks. We may now see whether this *tumulus* is not also alluded to by *Sophocles* and by *Euripides*, and its situation distinctly pointed out as being on the outside of the gates, according to the usual custom with regard to Grecian sepulchres. But, pre-

* Vid. Pausan. Corinth. c. 15. p. 144. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Τὸ γὰρ, παλαιὸν Ἄργος, οὗ 'πόθεις, τόδε.
Sophocl. Elect. v. 4. tom. I. p. 176. *Paris*, 1781.

‡ ———οὐξ ἀρισερᾶς δ' ὅδε,
Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός.———
Ibid. vv. 11, 12. p. 178.

§ See plates VIII. IX. facing pp. 36, 38, of *Gell's Itin. of Greece*. *Lond.* 1810. Mr. Gell's drawings afford a valuable commentary upon the text of *Sophocles* in the opening of the *Electra*.

‖ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα στάδια τὸ Ἡραῖον. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, c. 17. p. 147. ed. *Kuhnii*.

vious to this, it will be necessary to state, that when *Sophocles* mentions the *regal seat* of the kings of *Mycenæ*, he is not speaking of a single building answering to the vulgar notion of a *house*, but of the whole *structure* of the fortress, wherein they resided; a *Citadel;* resembling that of the *Kremlin* at Moscow, once inhabited by Russian sovereigns; or like to the *tower* of our metropolis, where the English monarchs were wont to dwell. It is in this sense that he uses the word Δῶμα,* with reference to all the buildings enclosed by the *Acropolis;* and the gates of it are called *Propylœa*,† as in the instance of the Athenian Citadel. This will be further evident when we proceed to a description of the entrance to the *Acropolis;* for *the gate* is not more distinctly alluded to by *Pausanias* than by *Sophocles* himself, as will presently appear. *Orestes*, desirous of bearing his *vows* to his father's tomb, repairs thither before he enters the *Propylœa;* and *Electra*, who is only permitted to leave the *Citadel* in the absence of *Ægisthus*, meets *Chrysothemis* upon the *outside of the gates*, carrying the offerings sent by her mother to appease the *Manes* of *Agamemnon*.‡ The position of the sepulchre seems therefore in all respects to coincide with that of the *Tumulus* we were now describing; but the words of *Sophocles* are also decisive as to its *form;* for the *tomb of Agamemnon* is not only called τάφος, but also κολώνη;§ and as, in this tragedy, the poet adapted his description to a real scene, and to existing objects, there seems reason to believe that, in his time at least, this remarkable sepulchre was considered by the inhabitants of *Mycenæ* as the TOMB OF AGAMEMNON; although described by *Pausanias* rather as the *Heroum of Perseus*. But the most striking evidence for the situation of the *tomb of Agamemnon* occurs in the *Electra* of *Euripides*. When *Orestes* in that tradegy relates to *Pylades* his nocturnal visit

* ———δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν———. Sophoc. Elect. v. 10. *Paris*, 1781.
Σύ τ' ὦ πατρῷον δῶμα.——— Ibid. v. 69.
Εἰ τοῦ τυράννου δώμαν' Αἰγίσθου τάδε; Ibid. v. 668.
Δόμων ἴσω τῶνδ'——— Ibid. v. 40.
———καταστάτην δόμων. Ibid. v. 72.

† Ibid. v. 1391. In v. 1486. *Ægisthus* commands the gates (πύλας) to be thrown open.

‡ Τίν' αὖ σὺ τήνδε ΠΡΟΣ ΘΥΡΩΝΩΣ ἐξόδοις
Ἐλθοῦσα φωνεῖς, ὦ κασιγνήτη, φάτιν; Ibid. vv. 330, 331. tom. 1. p. 212.

§ Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθ ον πατρὸς ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ τάφον,
Ὁρῶ ΚΟΛΩΝΗΣ ἐξ ἄκρας νεορρύτους
Πηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ περιστεφῆ κύκλῳ
Πάντων ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀνθέων θήκην πατρός. Ibid. v. 899. p. 272.

to the sepulchre of his father, it is expressly stated that he repaired thither *without entering within the walls.** Possibly, therefore, the known existence of this *tumulus*, and of its form and situation, suggested both to *Sophocles* and to *Euripides* their allusions to the *tomb of Agamemnon*, and to the offerings made by *Orestes* at his father's sepulchre. The reader, after a perusal of the facts, will of course adopt his own conjecture. We shall now proceed to a further description of the monument itself.

Having descended from the top of it, we repaired to the entrance, upon its eastern side. Some steps, whereof the traces are visible, originally conducted to the door. This entrance, built with all the colossal grandeur of Phœnician and Egyptian architecture, is covered by a mass of *breccia*, of such prodigious size, that were it not for the testimony of others who have since visited the tomb, an author, in simply stating its dimensions, might be supposed to exceed the truth. The door itself is not more than ten feet wide; and it is shaped like the windows and doors of the Egyptian and earliest Grecian buildings, wider at the bottom than the top; forming a passage six yards long, covered by two stones. The slab now particularly alluded to, is the innermost entablature; lying across the uprights of the portal; extending many feet into the walls of the tomb on either side. This vast *lintel* is best seen by a person standing within the tomb, who is looking back toward the entrance:† it consists of a coarse-grained *breccia*, finished almost to a polish: and the same siliceous aggregate may be observed in the mountains near *Mycenæ*, as at *Athens*. We carefully measured this mass, and found it to equal twenty-seven feet in length, seventeen feet in width, and four feet seven inches in thickness. There are other stones also of immense size within the tomb; but this is the most considerable; and perhaps it may be mentioned as the largest slab of hewn stone in the world.‡ Over this entrance there is a triangular aperture; the base

* Νυκτὸς δὶ τῆσδε πρὸς τάφον μολὼν πατρὸς
κ. τ. λ.
. . . . . .
ΚΑΙ ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΟΥ ΒΑΙΝΩ ΠΟΔΑ . . .
Euripidis Electra, v. 90. p. 403. ed. Barnes. *Cantab.* 1694.

† See Plate VI. of Gell's Itin. of Greece, facing p. 34. *Lond.* 1810.

‡ Excepting only *Pompey's Pillar*: but this is of a different form, being not so wide, although much longer. The famous pedestal of the statue of Peter the Great, at Petersburgh, often described as an entire mass of granite, consists of several pieces.

of the triangle coinciding with the *lintel* of the portal, and its vertex terminating pyramidically upwards, so as to complete, with the inclining sides of the door, an acute, or lancet arch. This style of architecture, characterizing all the buildings of *Mycenæ* and of *Tiryns*, is worthy of particular attention; for without dwelling upon any nugatory distinctions as to the manner wherein such arches were constructed; whether by projecting horizontal courses of stone, or by the later invention of the curvature exemplified in all the older Saracenic buildings,* it is evident that the *acute* or *lancet arch* is, in fact, the oldest form of *arch* known in the world; and that examples of it may be referred to, in buildings erected before the war of Troy. The use of the *triangular aperture* above the portal is satisfactorily explained by the appearance of the *gate of Mycenæ*, where a similar opening is filled by a triangular piece of sculpture in *alto-relievo*. The cause of placing such tablets in such situations may be shown by reference to existing superstition: they were severally what a Russian of the present day would call the *Obraze* or *Bogh;* an idolatrous type or symbol of the country. *Sophocles* in the description he affords of *Mycenæ*, allludes to this ancient custom, as will afterwards appear. Having passed the entrance, and being arrived within the interior of the tomb, we were much struck by the grandeur of its internal appearance. Here we found that what appears externally to be nothing more than a high conical mound of earth, contains within it a circular chamber of stone, regularly built, and terminating above in a conical dome, corresponding with the exterior shape of the *tumulus*. Its form has been aptly compared to that of an *English* bee-hive.† The interior superficies of the stone was once lined either with metal or with marble plates, fastened on by bronze nails; many of which now remains as they were originally driven into the sides. These nails have been analyzed, and proved to consist of *copper* and *tin*:‡ the

* See "*Two Letters on the subject of Gothic Architecture*," by the Rev. John Haggit, *Camb.* 1813; wherein the eastern origin of the "*ointed Style*" is clearly demonstrated.

† The Greek bee-hives have a different form: they are generally cylindrical.

‡ In the proportion of eighty-eight parts of copper added to twelve of tin, according to their analysis by Mr. Hatchett. The same constituents, nearly in the same proportion, exist in all very ancient *bronze*. The celebrated W. H. Wollaston, M. D. Secretary to the Royal Society, analyzed some *bronze* arrow heads of great antiquity found near to *Kremenchück* in the south of Russia, and observed the same compound of *copper* and *tin*. Possibly the

metal is therefore, properly speaking, the χαλκὸς of Homer, or *bronze;* a compound distinguished from the *orichalcum,** or *brass*, of later ages, which consisted of *copper* and *zinc*. We had scarcely entered beneath the dome before we observed, upon the right hand, another portal, leading from the principal chamber of the tomb to an interior apartment of a square form and smaller dimensions. The door-way to this had the same sort of triangular aperture above it that we had noticed over the main entrance to the sepulchre; and as it was nearly closed to the top with earth, we stepped into the triangular cavity above the lintel, that we might look down into the area of this inner chamber; but here it was too dark to discern any thing. Being afraid to venture into a place of unknown depth, we collected and kindled a fagot of dry bushes, and, throwing this in a blaze to the bottom, we saw that we might easily leap down and examine the whole cavity. The diameter of the circular chamber is sixteen yards; but the dimensions of the square apartment do not exceed nine yards by seven. We did not measure the height of the dome, but the elevation of the vertex of the cone, from the floor, in its present state, is said to be about seventeen yards.†

After leaving this sepulchre, the *Cyclopéan* walls of MYCENÆ, extending to a short distance in a parallel projection from the entrance to the citadel, pointed out to us the approach to the gate on this side; which is built like *Stonehenge*, with two uprights of stone, and a traverse entablature of the same massive construction. Above this is a *triangular repository* similar to those already described within the tomb; but, instead of being empty as in the former instances, it is entirely filled by an enormous *alto-relievo*, upon a stone block of a *triangular* form; exhibiting *two lions* or rather *panthers*, standing like the supporters of a modern coat of arms. This is the identical piece of sculpture noticed by *Pausanias* as being over the gate of the citadel.‡ But the mention he has made of it does not appear to have been the

most ancient *bronze* may have been derived from a *native alloy* consisting of the two metals in this state of combination.

* See Watson's Chemical Essays, vol. IV. p. 85, et seq. *Camb.* 1786. where the learned author ingeniously proves that the *orichalcum* of the Romans was a metallic substance analogous to our compound of *copper* and *zinc;* or *brass*.

† See Gell's Itin. of Greece, p. 30. *Lond.* 1810,

‡ Λείπεται δὲ δμως ἔτι καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου, καὶ ἡ πύλη ΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ δὶ ἐφεστήκασιν αὐτῇ. Pausan. Corinth. c. 16. p. 146. ed. *Kuhnii*.

only instance where this curious specimen of the sculpture of the heroic ages is noticed by ancient writers. The allusions to a *real scene* in the *Electra* of *Sophocles* have been recently stated; and while we now show that the same drama has also preserved the record of a very curious superstition, it will likewise appear that this remarkable monument of the ancient mythology of *Mycenæ* did not escape his notice. *Orestes*, before entering the citadel, speaks of worshipping the statues of the gods of the country which are stationed in the *Propylæa*.* The ancient custom of *consecrating gates* by placing *sacred images* above them, has existed in every period of history; and it is yet retained in some countries. There is still a *holy gate* belonging to the *Kremlin* at *Moscow;* and the practice here alluded to is daily exemplified in the Russian city, by all who enter or leave the citadel through that gate. Every thing, therefore, conspires to render the ruins of *Mycenæ*, and, especially of this entrance to the Acropolis, preëminently interesting; whether we consider their venerable age, or the allusions made to them in such distant periods when they were visited by the poets and historians of Greece as the classical antiquities of their country; or the indisputable examples they afford of the architecture, sculpture, mythology, and customs of the heroic ages. The walls of *Mycenæ*, like those of the citadels of *Argos* and *Tiryns*, were of *Cyclopéan* masonry, and its gates denote the same gigantic style of structure. Any person who has seen the sort of work exhibited by *Stonehenge*, and by many other Celtic remains of a similar nature, will be at no loss to figure to his imagination the *uprights* and the *lintels* of the gates of *Mycenæ*. We endeavoured to measure those of the principal entrance, over which the *leonine images* are placed. The length of the *lintel* equals fifteen feet two inches; its breadth, six feet nine inches; and its thickness, four feet: and it is of one entire mass of stone. The two *uprights* supporting this enormous slab might afford still ampler dimensions; but these are almost buried in the soil and rubbish which have accumulated below so as to reach nearly to the *lintel*. Above this *lintel* stands the remarkable piece of sculpture alluded to by *Sophocles*† and by *Pausanias*.‡ It,

* ——πατρῷα προσκύσαν θ' ἕδη
Θεῶν, ὅσοιπερ πρόπυλα ναίουσιν τάδε.
Sophocl. Elect. v. 1391. tom. I. p. 328. *Par.* 1781.

† Vid. Sophocl. Elect. v. 1391.

‡ Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 18. p. 146. ed. *Kuhnii*.

therefore, requires a distinct examination, and a very particular description. The last of these authors, in the passage before cited,* has called the two animals, there represented, *lions;* but they are evidently *panthers*, or *tigers;* the more appropriate emblems of that branch of the heathen mythology which was peculiarly venerated by the inhabitants of *Mycenæ*.† This piece of sculpture is, as before stated, an *alto-relievo* of a triangular form; the base of the triangle resting upon the *lintel* of the gate; and its top pointing upward, in such a manner, that a perpendicular line bisecting the angle of the vertex would also divide the *lintel* into two equal parts. Such a line has been used by the ancient sculptor for the position of a pillar exactly resembling a sepulchral *Stélé*, resting upon a pedestal over the *lintel;* but this pillar is most singularly inverted, the major diameter of the shaft being placed uppermost; so that, contrary to every rule we are acquainted with respecting ancient pillars, its diameter is less toward the base than at the capital. As to the order of architecture denoted by this pillar, it is rather *Tuscan* than *Doric;* and it is remarkably ornamented by *four balls*, placed horizontally above the *Abacus*. There is also a circular ornament, or *orb*, in the front of the pedestal, which is a double *Torus*. The pillar is further supported by *two panthers;* one standing erect on either side of it, with his hinder feet upon the *lintel*, but with his two fore-paws upon the pedestal of the pillar: the heads of these animals seem to have been originally raised, fronting each other, above the capital; where they probably met, and occupied the space included by the vertex of the triangle; but they have been broken off, and no part of them is now to be seen. The *two panthers*, thus placed on the two sides of the pillar, exactly resemble a couple of supporters, as used in heraldry, for an armorial ensign. The dimensions of this *alto-relievo* are as follow: the height, nine feet eight inches; the width, in the broadest part toward the base of the triangle, eleven feet nine inches; the thickness of the slab, one foot ten inches. The stone itself exhibits, upon one side of it, evident marks of a saw; but it is in other respects extremely rude. As it has been fortunately preserved in its present situation, it serves to explain the nature of the triangular cavities above the doors in the tomb we have so lately described; proving

* Ibid. See the words of Pausanias in a former note.
† Vid. Sophocl. Elect. passim.

that they were each similarly occupied by a sacred tablet of the same pyramidal or triangular form. We have before seen that the whole enclosure of the Acropolis of Athens was one vast *shrine*, or *consecrated peribolus;* and the citadel of *Mycenæ*, upon a smaller scale, was probably of the same nature. These tablets therefore were the *Hiera*, at the *gates* of the *holy places* before which the people worshipped. Of the homage so rendered at the entering in of sanctuaries, we find frequent allusion in the sacred scriptures. It is said in Ezekiel,* that "THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND SHALL WORSHIP AT THE DOOR OF THE GATE, BEFORE THE LORD, IN THE SABBATHS, AND IN THE NEW MOONS:" and in the sublime song of the *sons of Korah*,† the *gates* of the Acropolis of Jerusalem, owing to their sanctity, are described as of more estimation in the sight of God, "than all the dwellings of Jacob." *Mycenæ* has preserved for us, in a state of admirable perfection, a model of one of the oldest citadels in the world; nor can there be found a more valuable monument for the consideration of the scholar profoundly versed in the history of ancient art, than these precious relics of her *Propylæa* exhibiting examples of sculpture more ancient than the Trojan war, and of the style of fortification used in the heroic ages; and also a plan of those *gates*, where not only religious ceremonies were performed, but also the courts of judicature were held.‡ For this purpose it was necessary that there should be a paved court, or open space in the front of the *Propylæa*, as it was here that kings and magistrates held their sittings upon solemn occasions. It is said of the kings of Israel and Judah, that they sat on their thrones in *a void place*,§ IN THE ENTRANCE OF THE GATES OF SAMARIA, where ALL THE PROPHETS PROPHESIED BEFORE THEM. The gate of *Mycenæ* affords a perfect commentary upon this and similar passages of scripture: the walls of the Acropolis project in parallel lines before the entrance, forming the sort of area, or oblong court, before the *Propylæa*, to which allusion is thus made; and it is in this open space, before the citadel, that *Sophocles* has laid the scene in the beginning of

* Ezekiel, xlvi. 3.

† Psalms, lxxxvii. 2.

‡ Vide Chronicon Parium, Epoch 5. where the *place of council* for the *Amphictyones* is called Πυλαία. Suidas says, that not only the (ὁ τόπος,) but the assembly itself, had this name. Vid. Suid. in voc. Πυλαγόραι.) See also Job xxix. 7. Ps. lxix. 12, &c.

§ Or *floor*, according to the Hebrew. *See* 1 *Kings* xxii. 10.

his *Electra*. The *markets* were always in these places,* as it is now the custom before the gates of *Acre*, and many other towns in the east: hence it is probable, that, in the mention made by *Sophocles* of the *Lycean Forum*,† he is not alluding to one of the public *Fora* of *Argos*, but to the *Pylagora*, or *market-place*, at the *gate* of *Mycenæ*, whose inhabitants, in common with all the *Argives*, worshipped the *Lycian Apollo*. The same author makes the worship of *Apollo*, or the *Sun*, the peculiar mythology of the city;‡ and it is confirmed by the curious symbols of the *Propylæa*, before which *Orestes* pays his adoration.§ *Apollo*, as a type of the *Sun*, was the same divinity as *Bacchus*: and the *two panthers*, supporting *the pillar*, represent a species of animal well known to have been sacred to the Indian Bacchus. This divinity, also the Osiris of Egypt, was often represented by the simple type of *an orb*; hence the introduction of the *orbicular* symbols: and among the different forms of images set up by ancient nations in honour of the *Sun*, that of *a pillar* is known to have been one. There was an image of *Apollo* which had this form at *Amyclæ*;|| and the *Sun-images* mentioned in the sacred scriptures seem to have been of the same nature. In the book of the Jewish law, immediately preceding the passage where the Israelites are commanded to abstain from the worship of "the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven," it is forbidden to them to set up any *idolatrous pillar*.** All the superstitions and festivities connected with the *Dionysia* came into *Greece* with *Danaus* from *Egypt* †† The cities of *Argolis* are, consequently, of all places the most likely to retain vestiges of these ancient *orgies*; and the *orbicular* symbols consecrated to the *Sun*, together with the *pyramidal* form of the tablets, the style of architecture observable in the walls of *Mycenæ*, and the magnificent remains of the

* See 2 *Kings* i. 18.

Αὕτη δ', Ὀρέστα τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ.
Ἀγορὰ Λύκειος.———

Soph. Elec. v. 6. p. 176. 178. tom. I. *Paris*, 1781.

‡ Soph. Elect. v. 1393, κ. τ. λ.

§ Ibid. v. 1391.

|| Vid. Pausan. in Laconic. c. 19. p. 257. ed. *Kuhnii*.

** Deuteronomy, xvi. 22. xvii. 3.

†† According to *Plutarch*, the *Dionysia* were the same with the *Ægyptian Pamylia*. Τὴν δὲ τῶν ΠΑΜΥΛΙΩΝ ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες, (ὥσπερ εἴρηται) φαλλικὴν οὖσαν, κ. τ. λ. *Plut. de Isid. et Osir. cap.* 36. *Francof.* 1599. For the *Egyptian* origin of these festivals, see also *Herodot.* lib. ii. The *Orgia*, and *Trieterica*, came from *Thrace*, but they were originally from *Egypt*. See *Diod. Sic.* vol. I. p. 239. 248.

sepulchres of her kings, all associate with our recollections of Egypt, and forcibly direct the attention toward that country. That the rites of *Apollo* at *Mycenæ* had reference to the worship of the *Sun* is a circumstance beautifully and classically alluded to by *Sophocles;* who introduced *Electra* hailing the *holy light,** and calling the *swallow* messenger of THE GOD,† because, being the *herald* of the *coming spring*, it was then held sacred, as it now is in that country.

This gate faces the northwest. After we had passed it, we followed the circuit made by the walls around the hill of the citadel. These consist of huge unhewn masses of stone, so fitted and adapted to each other as to have given rise to an opinion that the power of man was inadequate to the labour necessary in building them. Hence the epithet of *Cyclopéan*, bestowed upon them by different authors.‡ The *Peribolus* they enclose is oblong, and about three hundred and thirty yards in length. Upon the northern side are the remains of another *portal*, quite as entire as that we have already described, and built in the same manner; excepting that a plain triangular mass of stone rests upon the *lintel* of the gateway, instead of a sculptured block as in the former instance. We saw within the walls of the citadel an ancient cistern, which had been hollowed out of the *breccia* rock, and lined with stucco. The Romans had no settlement at *Mycenæ;* but such is the state of preservation in which the cement yet exists upon the sides of this reservoir, that it is difficult to explain the cause of its perfection after so many centuries. Similar excavations may be observed in the Acropolis of *Argos;* also upon the *Mount of Olives* near to *Jerusalem;* and among the remains of the ancient cities of *Taurica Chersonesus*, particularly in the rocks above the *Portus Symbolorum*. The porous nature of *breccia* rocks may serve to explain the use, and perhaps the absolute necessity, of the *stucco* here; and it may also illustrate the well known fable concerning those *porous vessels* which the *Danaïdes* were doomed to fill; probably alluding to the *cisterns of Argos* which the daughters of *Danaus* were compelled to supply with water, according to the usual employment of

* Ὦ φάος ἀγνὸν. Sophocl. Electr. v. 86. p. 196. tom. I. *Paris.* 1781.

† Διὸς ἄγγελος. Ibid. v. 149.

‡ Κυκλώπειαν πόλιν. (in Euripid. Hercule Furente.) Κυκλόπων θεμέλια. (Iphigen. in. Aul.) Κυκλωπεία οὐρανία τείχη (in Sophocl. Electr.) Κυκλώπων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 16. p. 146. ed. *Kuhnii.*

women in the east. The other antiquities of *Mycenæ* must remain for the more attentive examination of future travellers; who, as it is hoped, will visit the ruins provided with the necessary implements for making researches, where, with the slightest precaution, they will be little liable to interruption on the part of the Turks; the place being as destitute of inhabitants, and almost as little known or regarded, as it was in the time of *Strabo;* when it was believed that not a vestige of *Mycenæ* could be found. The inducement toward such inquiries is of no common nature: whatever may be discovered will relate to the history of a city which ceased to be inhabited long before the Macedonian conquest, and to the manners of a people coëval with *Æschylus* and with *Euripides.*

CHAP. XVII.

PELOPONNESUS.

Journey to Nemea—*Defile of* Tretus—*Cave of the* Nemeæan Lyon—*Fountain of* Archemorus—*Temple of the* Nemeæan Jupiter—*Albanians*—*Monument of* Lycurgus—*Nemeæan River*—Apesas—*Sicyonian Plain*—Sicyon—Theatre—*Prospect from the* Coilon—Stadium—Temple of Bacchus—*Other Antiquities*—*Medals*—*Paved Way*—*Fertility of the land*—Corinth—*Fountain of the Nymph* Pirene—Sisyphéum—*Temple of* Octavia—*Visit to the Governor*—Odéum—*Climate of Corinth.*

AFTER leaving *Mycenæ*, we again descended towards the plain of *Argos*,* lying westward; and coming to a village called *Carvati*, made a hearty meal upon eggs and coffee. We carried with us an introductory letter to a person named *Andriano*, who had found, as we were informed, another tomb at *Mycenæ*, similar to the one we have described; but we could not find him, and the people of the village knew nothing of the discovery. We therefore continued our journey northward for *Nemea*. As this route lies out of the ancient road from *Corinth* to *Argos*, (which did not pass through *Nemea*,) the objects noticed by *Pausanias*, in the beginning of that part of his second book which he calls ARGOLICA, do not occur. The city of *Cleonæ* was one of this number;† whose remains have been observed in the road to *Corinth* and at ten miles distance from that city.‡ The road from *Mycenæ* to *Nemea* does, however, coïncide with the road to *Corinth* for a short distance after leaving *Carvati*; but, upon reaching the mountains, which separate the two plains of *Argos* and *Nemea*, it bears off by a defile across a mountain toward the west. Some allusions to this defile occurs in *Pausanias*, and to its deviation from the main

* "We descended from *Mycenæ* into the rich plain of *Argos*; not now deserving the epithet of ἱππόβοτος, for the horses in this neighbourhood are beyond measure miserable." *Colonel Squire's MS. correspondence.*

† Ἐκ Κορινθου δ' εἰς Ἄργος ἐρχομένῳ Κλεωναὶ πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 15. p. 143. ed. *Kuhnii.*

‡ Chandler found them upon a hill in the direct road from *Argos* to *Corinth*. *See Chandler's Travels in Greece*, ch. 57. p. 234. *Oxf.* 1776.

road; for he says there were two ways of going from *Cleonæ* to *Argos;* one of them by *Tretus*, a narrow and a circuitous way, but the best *carriage* road of the two.* As we entered this defile, we travelled by the side of a rivulet of very clear water, through woods which were once the haunts of the famous *Nemeæan Lion.* The only animals we saw were some very fine tortoises. We passed one or two huts inhabited by wild-looking fellows, who told us they were the guards of the pass. They brought water for us to drink, and we gave them a few *paras.* Hereabout we noticed a curious comment upon the account given by *Pausanias* of this defile; in the marks of wheels upon the rocky parts of the road; the surface of the stone being furrowed into ruts; which must have been worn by the wheels of ancient carriages;† no vehicles of this kind being used by the present inhabitants of the *Peloponnesus.* The mountain over which the defile leads is still called *Treto* by the natives; it extends from east to west, along the southern side of the Plain of *Nemea.* And this mountain, perforated by a defile, is all that *Pausanias* means by "*Tretus;*" but some persons have believed that there was a town called *Tretum* lying to the north of Argos.‡ We made diligent inquiry after the *cave of the Nemeæan Lion*, mentioned by the same author; being fully assured that in a country famous for the caverns contained in its limestone mountains, an allusion of this kind would not have been made by so accurate an author without its actual reference to some cave having borne this appellation. The guides from *Argos* knew nothing of it; but the people of *Nemea*, afterwards, brought us back again to visit a hollow rock, hardly deserving the name of a cave, although no unlikely place for the den of a lion. As other travellers may be curious to visit it, we shall describe its situation in such a manner that they may be easily guided to the spot. It is situated upon the top of the mountain, just before the descent begins toward *Nemea*,

* Ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δὲ εἰσιν ἐς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο· ἡ μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καὶ ἱστὶν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, ἐνὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων δρῶν, ὀχήμασι δέ ἐστιν ὅμως ἐπιτηδειοτέρα. Pausan. ibid. p. 144.

† Mr. Gell measured the distance between the furrows. According to his observation, the wheels of ancient carriages "were placed at about the same distance from each other as in those of modern times." *See Itin. of Greece, p 27. Lond.* 1801.

‡ "Tretum, petite ville de l'Argolide, *presqu'au nord d'Argos.* Dans les montagnes près de cette ville, on montroit *une caverne* où se retiroit, disoit-on, le lion féroce dont les poëtes ont attribué la mort à Hercule," &c. *Encyclopédie Méthodique. Géographie Ancienne, par Mentelle. Tome troisième*, p. 373. *à Paris*, 1792.

but upon the side of it which regards the *Gulf of Argos* and commands a view of all the country in that direction. If it be visited from *Nemea*, its bearing by the compass, from the three columns of the *Temple of Jupiter*, is due south-east; those columns being on the northwest side of *Tretus*, and at the base of the mountain; and this cave at the top of it, and on the contrary side, but facing *Argos* and *Nauplia*. It consists simply of an overhanging rock in the midst of thickets, on the *left* side of the road from *Nemea* to *Argos*; forming a shed, where the shepherds sometimes pen their folds. As the situation is commanding, we made the following observations by a small pocket compass.

A lofty pointed summit, called the *Peak of Giria*, or *Gerio*, anciently *Mons Gerani*, the most distant object S. W. and by W.
Citadel of *Argos* . . . . . S. S. W.
Citadel of *Nauplia* . . . . . S.
Citadel of *Corinth* . . . . . E. N. E.
Below the eye, in this direction, the site of *Cleonæ* may be discerned in the few remaining vestiges of that city.

This is the only cave of any description that we could hear of in the neighbourhood: the people of the country know of no other; and we may consider it as identified with that mentioned by *Pausanias*, from the circumstance of its position upon a mountain still bearing the name of the place assigned by him for its situation.* Its distance also from the ruins of the temple, being about a mile and a half, agrees very well with that which he has stated, of fifteen stadia.†

After regaining the road, the descent from this place soon conducts the traveller into the plain of NEMEA. We passed the fountain of *Archemorus*, once called *Langia*, and now *Licoriæ*. Near to it we saw the *tomb of Opheltes*,‡ at present nothing more than a heap of stones. *Pausanias* calls the fountain the *Adrastéan* spring:§ a superstition connected with it gave rise to all the sanctity and celebrity of

* Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 15. p. 144. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς δρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἔτι δείκνυται τοῦ λέοντος, καὶ ἡ Νεμία τὸ χωρίον ἀπέχει σταδίους πέντε που καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμείου τοῦ Διὸς ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος.

‡ Ἐνταῦθά ἐστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος. Ibid.

§ Τὴν δὲ πηγὴν Ἀδράστειαν ὀνομάζουσιν, εἴτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ, εἴτε καὶ ἀνευρόντος αὐτὴν Ἀδράστου. Ibid.

the surrounding *Grove:* victors in the *Nemeæan Games* received no other reward than a chaplet made of the wild *parsley** that grew upon its margin; and the herb itself, from the circumstance of its locality, was fabled to have sprung from the blood of *Archemorus*, in consequence of whose death the spring is said to have received its name.† We then came to THE RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE NEMÆAN JUPITER, which becomes a very conspicuous object as the plain opens. Three beautiful columns of the Doric order, without bases, two supporting an entablature, and a third at a small distance sustaining its capital only, are all that remain of this once magnificent edifice; but they stand in the midst of huge blocks of marble, lying in all positions; the fragments of other columns, and the sumptuous materials of the building, detached from its walls and foundations. The mountain *Tretus* makes a grand figure, as seen from this temple toward the southeast. A poor village, consisting of three or four huts, somewhat further in the plain, to the north of this mountain, and northeast of the temple, now occupies the situation of the ancient village of *Nemea.* It bears the name of *Colonna;* probably bestowed upon it in consequence of these ruins. One of its inhabitants, coming from those huts, joined our company at the temple. He told us that there were formerly *ninety* columns all standing at this place; and the other inhabitants of his little village persisted in the same story. The columns now standing, as well as the broken shafts of many others lying near to them, are grooved, and they measure four feet ten inches in diameter. The stones of the foundation of the temple are of very great size. We observed the wild pear tree, mentioned by Chandler‡ so many years before, still growing among the stones on one side of the ruin. He pitched his tent within the cell of the temple, "upon its clear and level area." Not having such comfort-

* Victors at the *Nemeæan Games*, according to Plutarch, (*in Timoleon,*) were crowned with *parsley* said to have sprung out of the blood of *Archemorus.* "This is the very herb," says Plutarch, "wherewith we adorn the sepulchres of the dead." The *Nemeaan* were *funeral games;* the presidents were clothed in *black* garments.

† "Unà tamen tacitas, sed, jussu numinis, undas
Hæc quoque secreta nutrit *Langia* sub umbra,
Nondum illi raptus dederat lacrymabile nomen
Archemorus, nec fama Deæ."——
Statius Thebaid. lib. iv.

‡ See Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 232. *Oxf.* 1776.

able means of accommodation for the night, we accompanied the peasant who had joined us, to the village, where the *Tchohodar* had already arrived and engaged one of the huts for our reception. The poor Albanians, to whom this little habitation belonged, had swept the earth floor and kindled a fire upon it; the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof: one end of the hut being occupied by their cattle and poultry, and the other by the family and their guests. Having killed and boiled a large fowl, we made broth for all the party; sitting in a circle round the fire. Afterwards, imitating the example offered to us by our host and his family, we placed our feet toward the embers, and stretched ourselves upon the floor of the cottage until the morning. We found, during the night, that the women, instead of sleeping, were entirely engaged in tending the fire; bringing fresh fuel when it was wanted, and spreading out the embers so as to warm the feet of all present, who were disposed around the hearth like diverging radii from this common focus. As soon as the men had taken a short nap, they sate up, and began talking. The conversation turned upon the oppressions of their Turkish masters. The owner of the hut told us that each male is compelled to pay a tax of seventy piastres; that, for himself, having three sons, they demanded of him an annual payment of two hundred and eighty piastres, beside other contributions; that he toiled incessantly with his children to gain enough to satisfy their demands, but found himself unable, after all his endeavours. Having said this, the poor man shed tears; asking us if the time would ever arrive when Greece might be delivered from the mahometan tyranny: and adding, "If we had but a leader, we should flock together by thousands, and soon put an end to Turkish dominion." Toward morning, the braying of their donkies set them all in motion. Having asked the cause of the stir, they told us that the day was going to break; and they informed us that the braying of an ass was considered by them a better indication of the approaching dawn than the crowing of a cock. In the present instance they were certainly not deceived, for we had no sooner boiled our coffee than daylight appeared.

We then returned to the ruins. Near to the remains of the temple, and upon the south side of it we saw a small chapel, containing some Doric fragments, standing upon an ancient barrow; perhaps the *monument* of LYCURGUS father

of *Opheltes;* for this is mentioned by *Pausanias* as a *mound of earth.** Scarcely a vestige of the grove remains where the triennial games were celebrated; unless a solitary tree, here and there, may be considered as relics.† The plain all around the temple exhibits an open surface of agricultural soil. We could discover no trace either of *a stadium* or of *a theatre;*‡ both of which are found in every other part of Greece where solemn games were celebrated. When every other monument by which *Nemea* was adorned shall have disappeared, this tomb, with that of *Opheltes*, and the *fountain of Archemorus*, upon the slope of the neighbouring hill, will be the only indications of the *sacred grove*. The three remaining columns of the *Temple of Jupiter* are not likely to continue long in their present situation: some diplomatic *virtuoso*, or pillaging *Pasha*, will bear away these marble relics: and then, notwithstanding the boast of *Statius*,§ the very site of the consecrated games, whether instituted to commemorate *Hypsipyle's loss*, or the *first labour of Hercules*,‖ may become a theme of dispute. Perhaps, indeed, the temple is not of the high antiquity that has been assigned to it. The columns are said not to bear the due proportion which is usually observed in the early examples of Doric architecture.** This edifice may have been erected by *Adrian*, when that emperor restored to the *Nemeæan* and to the *Isthmian* games their original splendor.

* Ἔστι δὲ χῶμα γῆς Λυκούργου μνῆμα τοῦ Ὀφέλτου πατρός. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 15. p. 144. ed. *Kuhnii.*

† Pausanias says that the temple was surrounded by a grove of cypresses. Κυπαρίσσων τε ἄλσος ἐστὶν περὶ τὸν ναόν. (*Vid. Pausan. in Cor.* c. 15. p. 144.) Not a cypress tree is now to be seen anywhere near the ruins.

‡ It does not necessarily follow, that if this be the temple of *Nemeæan Jove*, the games were celebrated close to the spot where the temple stands. Mr. Gell found the remains of *a theatre* in his journey from *Corinth* to *Nemea;* which, although he does not seem to be aware of the circumstance, may be that of the *Nemeæan Games*. He is just entering the *Nemeæan Plain* or valley; and he says, 'Here joins the road leading from *Mycenæ* to *Nemea*, which, turning to the right, falls into the valley of *Nemea*, between the site of *a theatre* on the right, and *a fount* on the left, now dry." *See Gell's Itin. of Greece*, p. 22. *Lond.* p. 1801.

§ ——— "manet ingens gloria Nympham,
Cum tristem *Hypsipylem* ducibus sudatus *Achæis*
Ludus, et atra sacrum recolit Triëteris *Ophelten*."
Statius Thebaid. lib. iv.

‖ According to Ælian, lib. 4. c. 5. Hercules transferred to *Cleonæ* the honours bestowed upon him by the *Nemeans*, for subduing the lion.

** Mr. Gell makes the diameters of the columns of the peristyle equal to five feet two inches and a half, and observes that the columns are higher in proportion to their diameters than is usual in the Doric order. *See Itin. of Greece*, p. 23. *Lond.* 1801.

Early this morning, Wednesday, November the eleventh, we began our journey toward SICYON, now called *Basilico*; following the course of the *Nemeæan rivulet*. This stream is alluded to by *Statius*, with reference to the fountain before mentioned.* It flows in a deep ravine after leaving the plain, and then passes between the mountains which separate the *Nemeæan plain* from that of *Sicyon*. On either side of the rivulet the rocks appeared to consist of a whitish chalky limestone. As we rode along the left bank of the rivulet, we saw, upon our right, a table mountain, believed by *Chandler*† to be the *Apesas* of *Pausanias*, where *Perseus* was said to have sacrificed to *Jupiter*. Its flat top, he says, is visible in the gulf of Corinth. We passed some ruined chapels upon our left. Almost every building of this kind in Greece has been erected upon the ruins of some Pagan sanctuary; for which reason they are always worthy of a particular examination. After riding about two hours along the *Nemeæan rivulet*, we suddenly quitted its course upon our *right*, and beheld *Sicyon*, occupying an elevated situation upon some whitish cliffs. Here we noticed a tomb and ruins upon our *right* hand, and immediately descended into the great fertile plain which extends along the *Sinus Corinthiacus*, between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*. Soon after entering into this plain, we observed, upon our *right* hand, a chapel, containing Ionic capitals, and other marble fragments. Hence we continued along the level surface of the finest piece of land in all Greece, cultivated like a garden; and after crossing a river, observed in several places upon our *left* the ruins of ancient buildings. We then came to the site of the city of SICYON.

So little is known concerning this ancient seat of Grecian power, that it is not possible to ascertain in what period it dwindled from its high preëminence, to become, what it now is, one of the most wretched villages of the *Peloponnesus*. The remains of its former magnificence are still considerable; and, in some instances, they exist in such a state of preservation, that it is evident the buildings of the city either survived the earthquakes said to have overwhelmed them, or they must have been constructed in some later period. In this number is the *theatre*; by much the finest

* ——— "tamen avia servat
Et nemus, et fluvium." *Stat. Theb.* lib. iv.

† Trav. in Greece, p. 233. *Oxf.* 1776.

and the most perfect structure of the kind in all Greece. The different parts of the city, whereof traces are yet visible, serving as *land marks* in pursuing the observations of Pausanias, may be comprehended under the following heads:

1. FOUNTAIN.
2. The ACROPOLIS.
3. Foundations of TEMPLES and other buildings; some of these constructed in a style as massive as the *Cyclopéan*.
4. Very grand *walls*, although built of brick tiles.
5. Remains of a *palace* with many chambers.
6. THE THEATRE.
7. THE STADIUM.
8. Remains of *a temple near to the theatre*.
9. Ancient *caves*.
10. Ancient *paved way*.
11. Ruins in the plain below SICYON, toward the sea.

Of some of these, as it may be expected, little can be said, excepting the mere enumeration of the names they bear in this list; but of others, a more particular description may be given. The whole city occupied an elevated situation; but as it did not possess one of those precipitous rocks for its citadel which sustained the bulwarks of Athens, Argos, Corinth, and many other Grecian states, little of its *Acropolis* can now be discerned, saving only the vestiges of its walls. It is situated above a place now called *Palæo-Castro*; and it occupies that part of the ruins of *Sicyon* which lies upon the south-east side, toward Corinth. Before we enter upon any further detail of the ruins here, it may be proper, for the advantage of other travellers, as well as for perspicuity of description, to state the bearings of some principal objects.

From the village of *Basilico*, the THEATRE bears . W. N. W.
The ARCO-CORINTHUS, or *Citadel of Corinth* . . S. E. and by S.*

* It was highly satisfactory to the author to find his observations by the compass accidentally confirmed by such respectable authority as that of sir George Whaler, who observing the bearing of BASILICON from the ARCO-CO-

The mountain PARNASSUS, as seen in *Phocis* . N.
THEBES in *Bœotia* . . . . . E. N. E.
Whether this last object be visible or not is very doubtful; but it was a place called *Thiva* by the inhabitants, lying in the direction of *Thebes:*

Hence it will be evident that the ruins of *Sicyon* occupy a prominent part of the *Sicyonian territory*, extending towards the N. N. E. into the *Corinthian gulf;* and that they lie along a ridge above the *plain of Sicyon*, in a direction from W. N. W. to E. S. E. having *Parnassus* due north. The ACROPOLIS, upon the S. E. side of the city, may be recognised, both in the nature of its walls, which are very ancient, and in its more elevated situation. Hereabouts we observed the fragments of architectural ornaments, and some broken columns of the Ionic order. Near to the *Acropolis* may also be seen the CAVES before mentioned, as in the vicinty of *Athens:* in all probability they were rather the sepulchres* than the habitations of the earliest inhabitants, although this cannot now be ascertained: they are all lined with stucco: and *Pausanias* mentions certain *secret recesses*† belonging to the *Sicyonians*, in which particular *images* were kept for their annual processions to the *temple of Bacchus* beyond the *theatre.* There is still an ancient paved road that conducted to the citadel by a narrow entrance between rocks, so contrived as to make all who approached the gate pass through a defile that might be easily guarded. Within the *Acropolis* are the vestiges of buildings, perhaps the *Hiera* of FORTUNA ACRÆA, and of the DIOSCURI;‡ and below it is

RINTHUS, (*See Journ. into Greece*, p. 442. *Lond.* 1682.) exactly in the opposite direction, states it to be *north-west and by north.*

* The *sepulchres* of the *Sicyonians* in the second century consisted of a *heap of earth*, above which stood a *stêlê*, resting upon *a stone base*, and surmounted by a species of ornament resembling that part of the roof of a temple which was called "THE EAGLE." *Vid. Paus. Cor.* c. 7. p. 126. ed. *Kuhn.*) The history of the *Eagle* upon Grecian temples is briefly this. The souls of kings, over whose sepulchres temples were originally erected, were believed (ὀχεῖσθαι) to be carried to heaven upon *eagles'* wings. At the funeral it was customary to let an *eagle* fly over the grave. In allusion to this, *Lycophron* calls Achilles ἀετὸν, *an eagle*, because he carried about Hector's body. *An eagle*, therefore, with expanded wings, was formerly represented upon the *tympanum* of *the pediment* in all *temples;* and ultimately, this part of the edifice itself received the appellation of ΑΕΤΟΣ, *the eagle.*

† Ἄλλα δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΩΙ Σικυωνίοις ἐστί. Pausan. Cor. 7. c. 7. p. 127. ed. *Kuhnii.*

‡ Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκούρων. Pausan. ibid.

a fountain, seeming to correspond with that of STATUSA, mentioned by *Pausanias* as near to *the gate*.* The remains of a *temple*, built in a very massive style of structure, occurs on the western side of the village of *Basilico;* and in passing the *fosse* of the *citadel* to go toward the *theatre*, which is *beyond* the *Acropolis*,† a *subterraneous* passage may be observed, exactly above which the *temple* seems to have stood; as if by means of this secret duct persons belonging to the sanctuary might have had *ingress* and *egress* to and from the temple, without passing the gate of the citadel. This was perhaps the identical place called *Cosmeterium* by *Pausanias*,‡ whence the *mystic images* were annually brought forth in the solemn procession to the *Temple of Bacchus*, situated near the *theatre* and the *stadium*. Some of the remains enumerated in the *list* may be those of Venetian edifices; as, for example, the ruin of *the palace;* the palaces of ancient *Sicyon* being highly splendid, and all built of marble. Indeed, an expression used by *Pausanias* seems to imply that the *Acropolis*, as it existed in his time,§ was not the most ancient citadel. The sea is at the distance of about a league from *Basilico;* but the commanding eminence upon which the ruins are situated affords a magnificent view of the *Corinthian Gulf* and all the opposite coast of *Phocis*. There is, however, no part of the ancient city where this prospect is more striking than from the THEATRE. This structure is almost in its entire state; and although the notes we made upon the spot do not enable us to afford a description of its form and dimensions equally copious with that already given of the famous *Theatre of Polycletus* in *Epidauria*, yet this of *Sicyon* may be considered as surpassing every other in Greece, in the harmony of its proportions, the costliness of the workmanship, the grandeur of the *Coilon*, and the stupendous nature of the prospect presented to all those who were seated upon its benches. If it were cleared of the rubbish about it, and laid open to view, it would afford an astonishing idea of the magnificence of a city whose luxuries were so great that its inhabitants ranked among the most voluptuous and effeminate people of all

* Πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει, μεγάλη ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

† Pausanias says, ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ibid.

‡ Ταῦτα μιᾷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ Διονύσου ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου ΚΟΣΜΗΤΗΡΙΟΥ κομίζουσι. Paus. Cor. c. 7. p. 127. ed. *Kuhnii*.

§ Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἀκροπόλει, κ. τ. λ. Ibid.

Greece. The stone work is entirely of that massive kind which denotes a very high degree of antiquity. Part of the *Scene* remains, together with the whole of the seats, although some of the latter now lie concealed by the soil. But the most remarkable parts of the structure are two vaulted passages as entrances; there being one on either side, at the extremities of the *coilon*, close to the *scene*, and about half way up; leading into what we should call the side boxes of a modern theatre. Immediately in front, the eye roams over all the Gulf of Corinth, commanding islands, promontories, and distant summits towering above the clouds. To a person seated in the middle of the *cavea*, a lofty mountain with bold sweeping sides occupies the front of the view beyond the gulf, being placed exactly in the centre, the sea intervening between its base and the Sicyonian coast; and this mountain marks the part of *Bœotia* now pointed out by the natives of *Basilico* as (*Thiva*) Thebes; but to a person who is placed upon the seats which are upon the right hand of those in front, PARNASSUS, here called *Lakura* from its ancient name *Lycorea*, most nobly displays itself; this mountain is only thus visible in very clear weather. During the short time we remained in the *theatre*, although a conspicuous object when we first entered, it was afterwards covered by vast clouds, which rolled majestically over its summit, and finally concealed it from our view.

The STADIUM is on the right hand of a person facing the *theatre;* and it is undoubtedly the oldest work remaining of all that belonged to the ancient city. The walls exactly resemble those of *Mycenæ* and *Tiryns;* we may therefore class it among the examples of *Cyclopéan* masonry. It is in other respects the most remarkable structure of the kind existing; combining at once a *natural* and an *artificial* character. The persons by whom it was formed, finding that the mountain whereon the *coilon* of the *theatre* has been constructed would not allow a sufficient space for another oblong *cavea* of the length requisite to complete a *stadium*, built up an artificial rampart, reaching out into the plain from the mountain toward the sea: so that this front-work resembles half a *stadium* thrust into the semicircular cavity of a *theatre;* the entrances to the area, included between both, being formed with great taste and effect at the two sides or extremities of the semicircle. The ancient masonry appears in the front-work so placed. The length of the whole

area equals two hundred and sixty-seven paces; the width of the advanced bastion thirty-six paces; and its height, twenty-two feet six inches. Exactly in the front of this projecting rampart, belonging to the outer extremity of the *stadium*, but at a short distance below it, in the plain, are also the remains of a *temple;* completing the plan of this part of the ancient city; which was here terminated on its western side by three magnificent structures, a *theatre*, a *stadium*, and a *temple;* as it was bounded towards its eastern extremity by its *Acropolis*. We can be at no loss for the name of this *temple*, although nothing but the ground-plot of it now remain: it is distinctly stated by *Pausanias* to have been the *temple of Bacchus*, which occurred beyond the *theatre* to a person coming from the citadel;* and to this *temple* were made those annual processions before alluded to, which took place at night, and by the light of torches, when the *Sicyonians* brought hither the *mystic images* called *Baccheus* and *Lysius*, chanting their ancient hymns.† All around the *theatre* and *stadium*, beside the traces of this *temple*, other ruins may be noticed, but less distinct as to their form. In the plain toward the sea are many more, perhaps extending to the *Sicyonian haven*, which we did not visit. The *theatre* itself was of a much more extensive nature than other edifices of the same kind commonly are; its sides and front projected far into the plain. We were not successful in our search for inscriptions; but the peasants sold to us many *medals* and small *terra-cotta* vessels, which they said they had found in caves near the spot. Among the latter we collected *lachrymatories* of more ancient form and materials than any thing we had ever before observed of the same kind. These vessels, as it was well known, were often made of *glass*, and, more anciently, of *earthen-ware;* being diminutive as to their size, and of delicate workmanship: but the *lachrymatory phials*, in which the *Sicyonians* treasured up their tears, deserve rather the name of *bottles:* they are nine inches long, two inches in diameter, and contain as much fluid as would fill a phial of three ounces; consisting of the coarsest materials, a heavy blue clay or marl. But we also collected little circular cups like small salt cellars, two inches in diameter, and one inch in height, (which are said to

* Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θέατρον, Διονύσου ναός ἐστι. Paus. Cor. c. 7. p. 127. ed. *Kuhnii*.
† Κομίζουσι δὲ μετὰ δαΐδων τὲ ἡμμένων καὶ ὕμνων ἐπιχωρίων. ἡγεῖται μὲν οὖν ὁ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσιν, κ. τ. λ. ἕπεται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος ΛΥΣΙΟΣ. Ibid.

be found in great abundance at *Sicyon*,) of a much more elegant manufacture, although perhaps nearly as ancient. When we first saw them, we believed that they had been made of pale unbaked clay, dried only in the sun; but upon a nearer examination we perceived that they had once been covered with a red varnish, and that this covering had actually decomposed, and almost disappeared. Hence some inference may be deduced as to their immense antiquity; instances having never occurred before of the spontaneous decomposition of the varnish upon ancient *terra-cotta* vessels preserving their entire forms. It is known to every person who has attended to the subject, that the most powerful acids produce no effect whatsoever upon their surfaces, and that some of the oldest *terra-cottas* yet discovered in Greece are remarkable for the high degree of lustre exhibited by the *black* varnish with which they are invested. The case may perhaps be different with the *red* varnish; and possibly the examples of pottery found in Grecian sepulchres, and believed to have been made of unbaked clay, with surfaces which moulder beneath the fingers and have a pale earthy aspect, may owe this appearance entirely to the degree of decomposition they have sustained. The medals which we collected here consisted principally of the bronze coinage of *Sicyon;* having on one side *a dove* represented flying, and upon the other the letters Σ, ΣΙ, or ΣΙΚ. Some were also brought to us of the Roman emperors: and, among these, one with the head of *Severus;* and upon the obverse side, *a boy upon a dolphin*, with *a tree*. The whole illustration of this subject is in *Pausanias:* it relates to a fable from which the Isthmian Games were said to have derived their origin. The tree is that pine which was shown near to the town of *Cromion*, as a memorial of one of the exploits of *Theseus*. Near to it stood an alter of *Melicerta*, who was brought thither by *a dolphin*, and afterward buried upon the spot by *Sisyphus:* in honour of whom the Isthmian Games were said to have been instituted.* It is always easy to procure bronze medals in Greece; but the Albanian peasants do not readily part with those which are of silver; because they decorate the head-dresses of their women with these pieces. They may, however, be tempted by newly coined *parahs*, which answer for the same purpose; and we had accordingly provided ourselves with a small cargo, fresh from the mint.

* Vid. Pausan. Cor. c. 1, p. 111. ed *Kuhnii*.

In exchanging for this base but shining coin, we obtained a few silver medals of *Sicyon*, and one of uncommon rarity of *Pylus* in ELIS. A single and imperfect impression of this last coin exists in the collection of Paris. That which we obtained exhibited in front *a bull standing upon a dolphin*, with the ΓΙΥ letters; and for the obverse side an indented square. Any silver medal in their possession might be bought of these poor peasants for a few new *parahs*, not worth *a penny;* but if paid in old coin, they would not part with one for the same number of *piastres*. *Ibrahim*, it is true, had a summary way of settling these matters; and, by demanding every thing *à coup de baton*, shortened all treaties, whether for horses, food, lodging, or antiquities, by the speedy dispersion of all whom he approached. For this reason, whenever we wished to deal with the natives, we took especial care to send him out of the way. After our return to the village of *Basilico*, we dismissed him with the baggage; and the people finding themselves to be secure from Turkish chastisement, came round us with their wives and children, bringing all the antiquities they could collect.

We then set out for *Corinth:* and as we descended from the *Acropolis*, we plainly perceived the situation of the gate to have been in the *fosse*, above where the *fountain* now is. Here we noticed the remains of the old paved way; and saw upon our right, close to the road, a place where the rock had been evidently hewn into a square pedestal, as for the base of some colossal statue, or public monument. Thence we continued our route across the wide and beautiful plain which extends between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, bounded by the sea toward the north; a journey of three hours and a half, over the finest corn land in Greece, and through olive-plantations producing the sweetest oil in the world. This district has been justly extolled by ancient* and by modern authors.† The well-known answer of an ancient oracle to a person who inquired the way to become wealthy, will prove how famous the soil has ever been for its fertility: he was told to "get possession of all the land between Corinth and Sicyon." Indeed, a knowledge of the country is all that is necessary to explain the early importance of the cities for which it was renowned. Both *Sicyon* and *Corinth* owed

* See the authors cited by Barthelemy; Athen. lib. v. cap. 19. p. 219. Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 31. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 969.

† Wheler's Journey into Greece, Book VI. p. 443. *Lond.* 1682.

their origin to this natural garden; and such is even now its value under all the disadvantageous circumstances of Turkish government and neglected cultivation, that the failure of its annual produce would cause a famine to be felt over all the surrounding districts.*

Within a mile of CORINTH we passed *a fountain* in a cavern upon our right; formed by a dropping rock consisting of a soft sand-stone. Further up the hill, and upon the same side of the road, as we entered the straggling town now occupying the site of the ancient city, we observed some ruins, and a quantity of broken pottery scattered upon the soil. The old city occupied an elevated level above the rich plain we had now passed; and upon the edge of this natural terrace, where it begins to fall toward the corn land, we found the fluted shaft of a Doric pillar of limestone, equal in its dimensions to any of the columns of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens; it was six feet and one inch in diameter. Close to this we observed the ground-plot of a building, once strongly fortified; that is to say, a square platform fronting the plain and the sea: on this side of it is a precipice, and its three other sides were surrounded by a fosse. The area measures sixty-six paces by fifty-three; its major diameter being parallel to the sea shore. Upon the opposite side, within the fosse, are also the remains of other foundations; possibly of a bridge or causeway, leading into the area on that side. The remarkable *fountain* before mentioned does not here guide us, amidst the mazy description of *Pausanias*, to the original name of this building. *Corinth* was full of fountains; there was no city in Greece better supplied with water;† many of those fountains were supplied by means of aqueducts;‡ but if we find a passage in *Pausanias* that seems to allude to the remarkable circumstance of *a dropping spring*, within *a cavern*, we may perhaps succeed in establishing a point of observation for ascertaining other objects in its neighbourhood. An allusion of this nature occurs where he mentions *the water of the Nymph*

* "And its plenty failing, brings most certainly a famine upon their neighbours round about them." *Wheler's Journey into Greece*, p. 443. *Lond.* 1682.

† Κρῆναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποίηνται πᾶσαν, ἅτε ἀφθόνου ῥέοντός σφισιν ὕδατος. Paus. Cor. c. 3. p. 118. ed. *Kuhnii*. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν φρεάτων εὐπορία κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 550. ed. *Oxon*.

‡ The emperor *Adrian* brought water to *Corinth* from *Stymphalus*, written *Stemphylus* in the edition of Pausanias above cited. *Vid. Paus. Cor. ut supra.*

Pirene, who poured forth such abundance of *tears* for the loss of her son *Cenchrias*, when slain by *Diana*, that she was metamorphosed into a fountain.* Even the circumstance of the cellular cavity, whence the water flows, appears also to have been noticed by *Pausanias*; in whose time it was beautified with *white marble*.† This *weeping* spring may therefore be considered the same with that denominated *by him* THE FOUNTAIN OF THE NYMPH PIRENE; as it occurs in the road leading from *Corinth* to *Lechæum* on the *Sicyonian* side of the Isthmus, precisely where that fountain was situated. This point being established, we might expect to make the *fountain* a land-mark for ascertaining the relative position of other objects. But *Strabo* has given the same name to another spring at the base of the *Acrocorinthus*; and *Pausanias* allows that this was not the only fountain called *Pirene*.‡ The spacious area belonging to the fortress where the Doric pillar lies, relates to a structure so long rased, that it may have been overlooked by *Pausanias*, as it was by modern travellers until our arrival: and if this be the case, it may be a relic of the *Sisyphéum*; a *mole*, or *bulwark*, not mentioned by that writer, but noticed by *Diodorus Siculus* and by *Strabo*. As *Chandler* has placed the *Sisyphéum* elsewhere, we shall presently have occasion to say something further concerning this structure. The *Corinthians* had also *a Hieron to all the gods*,§ where there was *a statue of Neptune* with a *dolphin spouting forth water*; but the water of the *dolphin* was conveyed by means of *an aqueduct*, and was not *a natural spring*.‖

* Μετὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἴσοδος ἐστι τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἡ Πειρήνη γένοιτο ὑπὸ δακρύων ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γυνή, τὸν παῖδα θθυομένη Κεγχρίαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀκούσης ἀποθανόντα. Pausan. Cor. c. 3. p. 117. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Ibid. The water of this spring was said to be πιεῖν ἡδύ. Upon these words *Kuhnius* adds the following note: "*Unde ex hoc fonte aquam petebant in usus domesticos puellæ Corinthiorum, uti patet exemplo Laidos adhuc puellæ* ὑδροφορούσης ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης; lib. xiii. *Athenæi. Idem hic* lib. ii. *de fontis hujus aquâ*; σταθμήσας τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Πειρήνης καλουμένης ὕδωρ, κουφότερον πάντων εὗρον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, *quum ad libram exegissem*, inquit, *aquam Pyrenes fontis Corinthii, levissimam eam omnium in totâ Græcia deprehendi*." Vid. Annot. Kuhnii in Paus. lib. ii. c. 3. p. 117. *Lips.* 1696.

‡ Vid. Paus. in Corinth. c. 5. p. 122. ed. Kuhnii. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. p. 550. ed. *Oxon.*

§ Θεοῖς πᾶσιν Ἱερον. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 2. p. 116. ed. *Kuhnii*.

‖ The curious marble discovered by the *earl of Aberdeen* at *Corinth*, and since brought to England, which was found covering the mouth of an ancient well, may have been the identical *Hieron* here alluded to by *Pausanias*. The word Ἱερὸν, it is true, is translated *Templum* by *Amaseus*; but it does not appear probable that this could be the author's meaning; because he is actually speaking of a temple (Τύχης ναός,) by which he says the *Hieron*

In going from the area of this bulding toward the magnificent remains of A TEMPLE now standing above the Bazar, whence perhaps the *Doric pillar* already mentioned may have been removed, we found the ruins of ancient buildings; particularly of one partly hewn in the rock opposite to the said *temple*. The outside of this exhibits the marks of cramps for sustaining slabs of marble once used in covering the walls; a manner of building, perhaps, not of earlier date than the time of the Romans. Pliny mentions the time when this kind of ornament began to be introduced at Rome.* The Greeks sometimes decorated *marble* edifices after the same manner, but with plates of *metal*.† In this building were several chambers all hewn in the rock, and one of them has still an oblong window remaining. We then visited the *temple*. It has been described by all travellers for near a century and a half. In *Wheler's* time it had *eleven* Doric pillars standing;‡ the same number remained when *Chandler* visited the place.§ We found only *seven* remaining upright: but the *fluted shaft*, before mentioned, may originally have belonged to this building, the stone being alike in both; that is to say, common limestone, not marble; and the dimensions are perhas exactly the same in both instances, if each column could be measured at its base. When *Wheler* was here, the pillars were more exposed toward their bases; and being there measured, he found them to equal eighteen feet in circumference, allowing a diameter of six feet for the lower part of the shaft of each pillar. Only *five* columns of the *seven* now support an entablature. We measured the circumference of these, (as we conceived, about three feet from their bases,) and found it to equal seventeen feet two inches. Each column consists of one entire piece of stone; but their height, instead of being equal to *six* diame-

stood. Παρὰ δὲ αὐτο θεοῖς πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἱερόν. It is therefore at least probable that all he intends, in this passage, by the word *Hieron*, is the representation of the *Heathen Deities* upon the marble bas-relief that covered the mouth of a well by which the *Temple of Fortune* stood. If all the HIERA of *Pausanias* were to be translated *temples*, there would have been more temples in Greece than in the whole world beside.

* "Primùm Romæ parietes crustâ marmoris operuisse totius domûs suæ in Cælio monte Cornelius Nepos tradidit Mamurram Formiis natum, equitem Romanum, præfectum fabrorum C. Cæsaris in Galliâ." *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 6. tom. III. p. 477. *L. Bat.* 1635.

† See the description given of the *Gymnasium* at *Alexandria Tróas*, in the former section.

‡ See Wheler's Journ. into Greece. p. 440. *Lond.* 1682.

§ Trav. in Greece, p. 239. *Oxf.* 1776.

ters, the true portion of the Doric shaft, according to Pliny, does not amount to *four*. The destruction that has taken place, of *four* columns out of the *eleven* seen by *Wheler* and *Chandler*, had been accomplished by the governor, who used them in building a house; first blasting them into fragments with gunpowder. *Chandler* suspected this temple to have been the *Sisyphéum* mentioned by *Strabo*,* but without assigning any reason for this conjecture. Nothing can be easier than an arbitrary disposal of names among the scanty relics of a city once so richly adorned; nor can any thing be more difficult than to prove that such names have been properly bestowed. The *Sisyphéum* was a building of such uncertain form, that *Strabo*, eighteen centuries ago, could not positively pronounce whether it had been a *temple* or a *palace*;† whereas the first sight of this, even in its present dilapidated state, would have been sufficient to put that matter beyond dispute. The *Sisyphéum* was situated below the fountain *Pirene*, and built (λευκῷ λίθῳ) with *white stone;* an expression generally used to signify *marble*, both by *Strabo* and by *Pausanias*. The present building does not answer to this description. The *Sisyphéum* is not once mentioned by *Pausanias;* which could not have been the case, if its remains were of this magnitude. The only ancient author by whom the *Sisyphéum* has been noticed, excepting by *Strabo*, is *Diodorus Siculus;* who describes it as a place strongly fortified, near to the citadel.‡ As to the real history of this very ancient *temple*, the style and the materials of its architecture have induced some to refer the origin to its earliest periods of the Dorian power in Peloponnesus. We confess we are not of this opinion: the disproportion of the length of the pillars to their diameters, is with us an argument, rather against, than for, their high antiquity. If we may credit the testimony afforded by so late a writer as *Martin Crusius*,§ founded probably upon tradition, this building was the *temple of Juno;* and his statement agrees with *Pausanias*, who mentions a *Hieron* of *Bunœan Juno*,‖ below the *Acrocorinthus:* but as it amounts almost to a certainty, that so considerable a struc-

* Ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ Πειρήνῃ τὸ Σισύφειον ἐστιν, ἱερόν τινος, ἢ βασίλειον, λευκῷ λίθῳ πεποιημένον, (*sic leg. Casaub.*) διασῶζον ἐρείπια οὐκ ὀλίγα. Strabon. Geo. lib. viii. p. 550. ed. *Oxon.*

† Ibid.

‡ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. p. 480. ed. *Wesseling.*

§ Mart. Crus. Turcogræcia.

‖ Ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τῆς βουναίας ἐστὶν Ἥρας ἱερόν. Paus. Cor. c. 4. p. 121. ed. *Kuhn.*

ture must have been mentioned by the latter writer with a more distinct clew as to its situation, there seems to be no edifice noticed by him with which it more accurately corresponds, than with the TEMPLE OF OCTAVIA, sister of *Augustus;* unto whom the *Corinthians* were indebted for the restoration of their city; this *temple* occupied the same situation with respect to the AGORA* that the *present ruin* does with regard to the *Bazar;* and it is well known, that however the prosperity of cities may rise or fall, the position of a public mart for buying and selling usually remains the same.

While we were occupied in examining this building, and in collecting the different fragments of ancient pottery scattered among the ruins, the governor sent to desire that we would visit him. We found him sitting in a mean little open apartment, attended by one of those French agents, who, under the name of apothecaries, carried on at this time a very regular system of *espionnage* throughout the Turkish empire; and especially in Greece. This gentleman offered to be our interpreter; we told him that we had with us a person who always acted in that capacity; but as the governor seemed to prefer the Frenchman, we acquiesced; and, after the usual ceremony of pipes and coffee, a parley began. The first questions put to us related to our travels; accompanied by many shrugs and shrewd sarcasms as to the vagrant life led by *Djowrs* in general. All this was interpreted to us by the Frenchman, interlarded with every scurrilous epithet he could pour forth against the old Turk, but bowing his head all the while with great seeming gravity and decorum, as if he were bestowing upon him the most honourable titles. The governor was evidently out of temper; and presently the cause was manifest. "Your *Tchohadar* has been here," said he, "and tells me you intend to take up your abode in this place, that you may repose and take your *caif;*† but you have brought me no present." We said that we neither gave nor received mere gifts of ceremony. "Then who are ye?" added he somewhat sharply. "English (*Effendies*) gentlemen," was the answer. "*Effendies* truly! and is it like an *Effendi* to be seen picking up pieces of *broken pots*, and groping among heaps of rubbish?" There was so much

* Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ΑΓΟΡΑΝ ἐστιν ΟΚΤΑΒΙΑΣ ΝΑΟΣ, κ. τ. λ. Pans. Cor. c. 3. p. 116. ed. *Kuhnii.*

† كيف (*Caify* or *Kafy*) is *aliment* or *nourishment* in Arab.; Dict. but in Turkey the word *Caif* is often used to denote *entertainment*, or *comfort.*

apparent reason in this remark, and it was so utterly impossible to explain to a mahometan the real nature or object of such researches, that we agreed with the Frenchman it was best to let him have his opinion, and passing quietly for paupers beneath his notice, make our obeisance, and retire. This was the first instance, since we quitted the Turkish frigate, in which our *firmân*, and letter from the *Capudan Pasha*, had failed in procuring for us a favourable reception; and we began to fear that among the Turks, especially in the distant provinces, our credentials would have little weight, unaccompanied by bribes. *Ibrahim*, however, maintained that it was all owing to his not being present upon the occasion; and desired us in future to make no visits unaccompanied by him. A few ceremonial expressions, and a little etiquette, were alone wanting, he said; and perhaps he was right.

There is a considerable ruin consisting entirely of brickwork, which may have been a part of the *gymnasium*. We did not succeed in finding the *theatre*, nor any remains of a *stadium*; but close to the *bazar* we saw part of a very large structure, built entirely of tiles, or thin bricks. The people of the place remembered this more perfect; and they described it as a building full of seats, ranged one above the other. Possibly, therefore, it may have been the *odéum*;* unless, indeed, it were an *amphitheatre*, or a *theatre* raised entirely from the ground, like the *coliséum* at Rome; without being adapted to any natural slope. When we reached the house where we were to pass the night, the author was again attacked with a violent paroxysm of fever, and remained until the morning stretched upon the floor in great agony. The air of Corinth is so bad, that its inhabitants abandoned the place during the summer months. They are subject to the *malaria* fever, and pretend to remove it by all those superstitious practices which are common in every country where medicine is little known. We procured here some *terra-cottas* of very indifferent workmanship, and much inferior to those found near *Argos*; also a few medals and gems. There were no inscriptions; nor was there to be seen a single fragment of ancient sculpture. Such is now the condition of this celebrated seat of ancient art—this renowned city, once so vain of its high reputation, and of the rank it held among the Pagan States!

* Vid. Pausan. Coriath. c. 3. p. 118. ed. *Kuhnii*.

We resolved to devote as much of our time as possible to the examination of the *Isthmus;* for, although but a small district, it had been hitherto so imperfectly surveyed by modern travellers, that the site of the *Isthmian games* had never been accurately ascertained; and Chandler, and his successors, had affirmed that "neither the theatre nor the stadium were visible."* The mischief arising from such remarks is this; that persons who come afterwards, being thereby persuaded that all due diligence has been used in a research which has proved fruitless, willingly avoid the trouble of making any further inquiry. We shall presently show, not only that remains of the *stadium*, of the *temple*, and of the *theatre*, do yet exist, but that very considerable traces of the *Isthmian town* itself may be discerned; plainly denoting the spot once consecrated to the *Isthmian solemnities*, which continued to be celebrated long after the destruction of the city of Corinth.†

* See Chandler's Trav. in Greece, p. 243. *Oxf.* 1776, &c.
Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 2. p. 114. ed. *Kuhnii.*

CHAP. XVIII.

PELOPONNESUS AND ATTICA.

Visit to the Isthmus—*Remains of the Ancient Vallum—Canal of* Nero—Lechæum—*Cinerary receptacles in the rocks—Remarkable* Tumulus—Acrocorinthus—*Ascent to the Citadel*—Hiera—*Prospect from the Summit*—Hexamillia—*Discovery of the Town of* Isthmus—*Port* Schœnûs—*Temple of* Neptune—Theatre—Stadium—*Sepulchre of* Palæmon—*Trees from which Victors in the* Isthmia *were crowned—Extraordinary Mart for Grecian Medals—Dress of the Levant Consuls—Pandœan Horn*—Cenchreæ *Bath of Helen*—Convangee—Cromyon—*Manners of the Peasants*—Scironian *Defile—Boundary between* Peloponnesus *and* Hellas—ΚΑΚΗ ΣΚΑΛΑ—*Entrance of* Hellas—*Causes of the celebrity of* Megara—*The modern town—Inscriptions—Journey to* Eleusis—Kerata—*Eleusinian Plain*—Acropolis of Eleusis—*Marble Torso—The* Flowery Well—*Aqueduct*—Temple of Ceres—*Statue of the Goddess—Superstition of the Inhabitants—Inscription—Sudden departure for* Athens—Via Sacra—*Vast extent of Ancient* Thrace—*The* Rhêti—*Eleusinian* Cephissus—*Salt Lake—Defile of* Daphne—*The Rock called* Pœcile—*Temple of* Venus—*Monastery of Daphne*—Hieron of Apollo—*View of Athens at sunset—Athenian* Cephissus—*Site of the* Academy—*Arrival at* Athens—*Negotiation with the* Waiwode—*Return to* Eleusis—*Method devised for removing the* Statue of Ceres—*Difficulties encountered—Success of the undertaking—Further account of* Eleusis—*Long Walls—Of the* Rharian *and* Thriasian *Plains—Temples of* Triptolemus, *of* Neptune, *and of* Diana Propylæa—*Temple of* Ceres—*Port of* Eleusis—*Ancient* Theatre—*Acropolis—Return to* Athens.

Upon the thirteenth of November we set out for the Isthmus. Before leaving the town, there is a *fountain* upon the *left* hand; and opposite to it there are the ruins of some ancient building. Soon after, we observed another *fountain* upon our *right:* and here may be observed the old paved road leading from the natural platform whereon the city stood, into the plain of the Isthmus, which lies below this

level. We descended toward it. The vestiges of ancient buildings are visible the whole way down. We presently arrived at the neck of the *Isthmus*, and came to the remains of the ancient wall erected by the Peloponnesians, from the Gulf of Corinth to the *Sinus Saronicus*. The ground here is formed in such a manner as to present a natural rampart; but there are distinct traces of the old *Vallum;* and we saw the ruins of a fortress, or of some other building, at its termination upon the Corinthian side of the *Isthmus*. The remains of another wall may be also traced beyond this, toward the north-east. Here we found what interested us much more, the unfinished canal begun by *Nero*, exactly as the workmen had left it, in a wide and deep channel, extending N. W. and S. E. and reaching from the sea to the N. E. of *Lechæum*, about half a mile across the Isthmus. It terminates on the S. E. side, where the solid rock opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the work; and here the undertaking was abandoned. Close to the spot where the canal ceases, are two immense *tumuli;* and these, in the general sacking of Corinthian sepulchres mentioned by Strabo,* seem to have escaped violation; for their entrances, although visible, appear never to have been opened since they were closed, and are almost buried. Beneath these tombs there are sepulchres in the rocks; and one of the *tumuli* seems to be stationed over a sepulchral cave of this kind. The remarkable accuracy of *Pausanias* is, perhaps, in no instance more strikingly manifested than in the description he has given of the canal; corresponding, even to the letter, with its present appearance.† We followed the canal to the shore. Here we observed that the rocks had been hewn into steps, for landing goods from the port toward the canal and other works. The remains of the *temple of Neptune* are very considerable: it has not yet ceased to be a place of worship. We found here one of the idol pictures of the Greek Church, and some ancient vases, although in a broken state, serving as vessels and offerings upon the present altar. There is a bath to which they still bring patients for relief from various disorders. A short time before our arrival, this ancient bath was covered; but wanting materials for building a mill, the inhabitants of a neighbouring village blasted the rocks;

* Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib. viii. pp. 553, 554. ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

† Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν διορύσσειν ἤρξαντο, δῆλον ἐστίν, ἐς δὲ τὸ πετρώδες οὐ προεχώρησαν ἀρχήν. Pausan. in Corinthiaca, c. 1. p. 112 ed. *Kuhnii.*

and these falling into the bath, have almost filled it. The water of it is very clear and brilliant; its taste slightly brackish, but the saline flavour scarcely perceptible. It comes out of the rock from two holes into the bath, and thence falls into the sea. Great part of the ruined buildings and walls about the bath were carried off when the mill was built. At noon we made the following estimate, by means of our thermometer, of the te mperature of the atmosphere; of the water of this warm chal ybeate spring; and also of the water of the sea.

Atmosphere, in the shade, . . .	68° of Fahrenheit.
Water of the bath, in the shade,	88°.
Water of the sea, ...	75°.

All around this place are sepulchral caves hewn in the rocks near the sea, resembling the burial places in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; but the caves here are much smaller; and the recesses within them, instead of being intended as receptacles for bodies, were evidently niches for cinerary urns;* a mode of sepulture relating rather to the Romans than to the Greeks: whence it may be proved that these excavations cannot be more ancient than the restoration of Corinth by Julius Cæsar, and in all probability they are of a much later age.

In the second century the inhabitants of *Corinth* consisted entirely of the remains of that colony which had been sent thither by the Romans.† The original race, with all their customs and habits, had long been removed. In general we found three niches, placed in a row, in every cave; but in some instances the caves were double; and within each of the chambers there appeared a double row of recesses of different forms, probably adapted, in every instance, to the shape of the vessel intended to contain the ashes of a deceased person; many of them being little arched recesses, and others oblong rectangular cavities suited to the shape of those cinerary receptacles which have been occasionally found, made of marble or *terra-cotta*, modelled after the form of a Grecian sarcophagus, and of a diminutive size. Several of

* There is an engraved representation of these caves in Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, taken from the travels of *M. de Manceaux*; but the niches are inaccurately delineated, and are filled with imaginary urns.

† Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποστελλόντες ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Pausan. Corinthiaca, c. 1. p. 111. ed. *Kuhnii*.

these caves remain yet unopened; and some are entirely concealed, the entrances being either buried beneath large stones, or covered by soil and vegetation.

We spent the rest of this day in the examination of the *Isthmus*, but observed nothing which could be considered as the slightest indication of the place where the Games were celebrated. Chandler had evidently laid down the spot from an erroneous conjecture,* founded upon the observations of Wheler: and, as he positively asserts† that neither the *theatre* nor the *stadium* were visible, it is plain he never visited the part of the Isthmus to which Wheler has alluded ‡ We determined, therefore, to renew our search upon the morrow, and returned to Corinth to enjoy the prospect from the *Acrocorinthus* at the setting of the sun. From the place where the work of cutting the canal was abandoned, going toward *Corinth*, the ground rises the whole way to the old *Vallum;* and there are tombs all up the slope, in the direction of the *Acrocorinthus*. Before arriving at the wall in this direction, there is a lofty and very entire *tumulus*, which is covered with a whitish earth and with stones. This, owing to its magnitude and situation, it would be very desirable to open. According to Pausanias, the sepulchre of *Sisyphus* was in the Isthmus, although his tomb could not be pointed out.§ We crossed the wall again, and observed in the more ancient parts of it some stones of immense size; but where the masonry was more modern the parts were of less magnitude. We visited several ancient stone quarries, which were very large: all the hills to the left were covered with these quarries: they extended principally in a straight line, east and west.

The stupendous rock of the *Acrocorinthus*, from whatever part of the Isthmus it is viewed, appears equally conspicuous: opposing so bold a precipice, and such a commanding eminence, high above every approach to the Peninsula, that, if properly fortified, it would render all access to the Morea, by land, impracticable; and, as a fortress, it might be rendered not less secure than that of Gibraltar. It was therefore very aptly named by an ancient oracle—and in times when the art of war was incapable of giving to it the importance

* See the "*Chart of the Isthmus of Corinth*" facing p. 234 of Chandler's Trav. in Greece. *Oxf.* 1776.

† See Trav. in Greece, p. 243. *Oxf.* 1776.

‡ See Wheler's "*Journey into Greece*," Book vi. p. 437. *Lond.* 1682.

§ Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 2. p. 114. ed. *Kuhnii.*

it might now possess—one of the *horns* which a conqueror ought to lay hold on, in order to secure that valuable *heifer*, the Peloponnesus.

When we returned to Corinth, we found that the governor, who began to be uneasy at our scrutinizing observations, and considered us as nothing better than spies, would not grant to us permission for entering within the citadel: all that we could obtain was, the privilege of ascending to the summit of the rock as far as the outside of the gates of the fortress.* The whole of this ascent in the time of *Pausanias* was distinguished by *Hiera* stationed at certain intervals,† after the manner in which little shrines and sanctuaries now appear by the way side, in climbing the passes and heights of mountains in Catholic countries. A person unacquainted with the nature of such an ascent, reading his catalogue of the different objects as they occurred, might suppose they were so many *temples*, instead of *niches*, *shrines*, and *votive receptacles*. In the different contests which NEPTUNE is said to have had for the Grecian territories, one was also assigned to him for the Isthmus and Acropolis of Corinth: and as the watery god disputed with *Juno* and with *Minerva* for the possession of the *Argive* and of the *Athenian* plains, so, in his struggle to maintain the sovereignty of the *Corinthian region*, he is fabled to have retained possession of the *Isthmus*, when the lofty rock of the *Citadel* was adjudged to THE SUN; a fable founded on no very dark tradition respecting the existence of this mountain above the waters of the sea, long before they had entirely abandoned the plain of the Isthmus. That the *Peloponnesus* had been once *an island*, was not only an opinion of the ancients concerning it, but a memorial of the fact is preserved in the name it always retained‡ of "*the island of Pelops*." The antiquities, as they were noticed by *Pausanias*,§ in the ascent of the *Acrocorinthus*, are as follows: two *shrines* of *Isis*; two of *Serapis*;

* Lusieri afterwards obtained access to the interior, through the interest of the British minister at the Porte; but he was narrowly watched the whole time; and during the short stay he made, under the pretence of directing any improvement that might be necessary in the fortifications, he observed no remains of antiquity, excepting the shaft of a small pillar, which perhaps might have belonged to the *temple of Venus*.

† Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 4. p. 121. ed. *Kuhnii*. Ἀνίασι δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, κ. τ. λ.

‡ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΣ ΝΗΣΟΣ. (Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib. vii. p. 465. *Oxon.* 1807.) Πέλοπος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπαγομένου λαὸν εἰς τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ, κ. τ. λ.

§ Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. cap. 4. p. 121. ed. *Kuhnii*.

the *altars* of the *Sun;* and a *Hieron* called that of *necessity* and *violence*, wherein it was not lawful to enter. It is difficult to understand what was meant by this last; unles it were a *place of refuge*, like to some of the sanctuaries in Italy, into which it is unlawful to follow any fugitive offender who has there sheltered himself from pursuit. Above this was *a temple* (ναὸς) of the *mother of the gods*, a *Stēlē* and *a seat* (θρόνος) of stone. There seem also to have been *fanes* consecrated to the *Parcæ*, containing *images* which were not exposed to view; and near to the same spot, a *Hieron* of *Juno Bunæa*. Upon the summit itself stood another *Temple* (ναὸς) of *Venus*. In all this list there is mention made of two structures only which can properly be considered as *temples;* that is to say, the *Temple of Venus* upon the summit of the rock; and that of the *Mother of the Gods* at some resting place where there was *a seat*, perhaps about half way up. Fragments of the former will probably be discovered by future travellers who have liberty to inspect the materials used in constructing the foundations and walls of the citadel. All that we observed, in going up, were the remains of an ancient paved way near the gate of the fortress, and the capital of an Ionic pillar laying near the same place. We reached this gate just before sunset; and had, as is always usual from the tops of any of the Grecian mountains, a more glorious prospect than can be seen in any other part of Europe. Wheler calls it "the most agreeable prospect this world can give."* And as from the *Parthenon* at Athens we had seen the *Citadel of Corinth*, so now we had a commanding view, across the *Sinus Saronicus*, of *Salamis* and of the *Athenian Acropolis*. Looking down upon the *Isthmus*, the shadow of the *Acrocorinthus*, of a conical shape, extended exactly half across its length, the point of the cone being central between the *two seas*. Toward the north we saw *Parnassus* covered with snow, and *Helicon*, and *Cithæron*. Nearer to the eye appeared the mountain *Gerania*, between *Megara* and *Corinth*. But the prospect which we surveyed was by no means so extensive as that seen by *Wheler;* because we were denied admission to the fortress, which concealed a part of the view toward our right. We noted, however, the following bearings by the compass from an eminence near the gate:

* See "Journey into Greece," Book vi. p. 422. *Lond.* 1682.

North . . . . . Point of *Olmiæ* Promontory.
North and by East . . *Helicon.*
North-East and by North . . Summit of *Gerania.*
East-North-East . . The *Isthmus of Corinth* lying E. N. E. and W. S. W. And beyond it, in the same direction, the summit of *Cithæron.*
East . . . . . *Port Schœnûs;* and beyond it, exactly in the same direction, *Athens.*
North and by West . *Parnassus.*
North-West and by North *Sicyonian Promontory.*

On Saturday, November the fourteenth, we again mounted our horses, and set out for a village still bearing the name of *Hexamillia*, being situated where the *Isthmus* is six miles over, and where the ancient town of the same name formerly stood. We had been told that we should be able to purchase medals here of the Albanians; accordingly we provided ourselves with a quantity of newly-coined *parahs* to barter in exchange for them. When we arrived, the number of medals brought to us, and their variety, were so great, that we demanded of the peasants, where they had found them in such abundance? One of the inhabitants, who spoke the modern Greek, said that all came from a *Palæo-Castro* to which they often drove their flocks: described by them as being situated near a small port at the extremity of the *Isthmus* upon the side of the gulf of *Engia*, toward *Megara.* This could be no other than the port *Schœnûs;* and the mere mention of this important appellation, *Palæo-Castro*, filled us with the most sanguine expectations that we should here find, what we had sought with so much earnestness, the site of the *Isthmian solemnities.* Such a variety of coins belonging to different and to distant states of Greece, all collected upon one spot, could only be accounted for by a reference to the concourse so often assembled, in consequence of the *sacred games*, from all parts of *Hellas* and of *Peloponnesus.* We therefore took one of the peasants as our guide to the *Palæo-Castro;* and leaving the others to collect other medals from the different cottages, promised to return in the evening, and to purchase all they might be able to procure. Ancient stone quarries are numerous in the hills above *Hexamillia.* Beyond this village, toward mount *Oneius*, which rises to the north of *Schœnûs* port, we thought we observed the form of an ancient *theatre*, of which nothing but the *coilon*

exists; neither a seat nor a stone remaining. We then rode directly toward the port and the mountain; and, crossing an artificial causeway over a fosse, we arrived in the midst of the ruins. A speedy and general survey of the antiquities here soon decided their history; for it was evident that we had at last discovered the real site of the *Isthmian town*, together with the ruins of the *Temple of Neptune*, of the *stadium*, and of the *theatre*.* The earth was covered with fragments of various-coloured marble, gray granite, white limestone, broken pottery, disjointed shafts, capitals, and cornices. We observed part of the fluted shaft of a Doric column, which was five feet in diameter. A more particular examination was now necessary; and we proceeded immediately to trace the different parts of this scene of desolation, and to measure them in detail.

We began first to mark, with as much precision as possible, the site of these ruins, with reference to other objects, that future travellers (in direct contradiction to the statement made by Chandler) may be guided to the spot, and become satisfied of their existence. The best method of finding their precise situation is to attend to the course of the wall which traverses the *Isthmus*; for this, if it be traced from the *Corinthian Gulf*, will be found to make a sudden turn before it reaches the shore of the *Sinus Saronicus*, and to bear away toward mount *Oneius*, embracing the whole of the port of *Schœnûs*, and closing it in upon the Corinthian side. The ruins of the *temple*, *stadium*, *theatre*, together with *wells*, and other indications of the *Isthmian town*, surround this port; and they are, for the most part, situated upon its sides, sloping toward the sea. The remains of the *Temple of Neptuue* are to the west of the *Isthmian Wall*; upon an area which is two hundred and seventy-six paces in length, and sixty-four in breadth. A Greek chapel, also in a ruined state, now stands upon the area of the temple; and this seems to have been the identical building mentioned by *Wheler*, near to which he found the inscription published by him, relative to many edifices, not mentioned by *Pausanias*, that were repaired by *Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus*.† Indeed, it is wonderful, considering the notice given by him of the ruins here, that the sight of them should afterwards be lost.

* Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. cap. 1 and 2. p. 111, 112, 113, 114. ed. *Kuhnii*.
† "Journey into Greece," book vi. p. 438. *Lond.* 1682.

The materials of the temple are of a *white limestone;** and the workmanship of the capitals, the fluting of the columns, and of other ornamental parts of the structure, are extremely beautiful. Not a single pillar remains erect; the columns with their entablatures have all fallen. The building, by its ruins, appears to have been of the *Corinthian* order; but there are remains of other edifices in its neighbourhood where the *Doric* order may be observed, and where the columns are of greater magnitude than at this temple. We measured some of the shafts of columns here that were only two feet nine inches in diameter; and this agrees with a remark made by *Pausanias*, who states that the dimensions of the *temple* were not extraordinary.† The capitals are for the most part destitute of the rich foliage of the *acanthus*, although finished with exquisite taste, and in the most masterly style of sculpture. Among seven or eight of these capitals, we found only one with the *acanthus* ornament; yet the edges of the *canelure* upon all the shafts of the columns at this temple were flattened, and not sharp, as in much larger pillars which we observed higher up toward the wall. We found also a *pedestal*, which measured at its base four feet and four inches. The fallen *architraves* and other parts of the *entablature* also remain. To the south wall of the area of the *temple*, adjoined the *theatre;* the *coilon* of which, almost filled and overwhelmed by the ruins of the *temple*, and by the effect of earthquakes, yet remains, facing the port *Schœnûs*. West of the theatre is the *stadium*,‡ at right angles to the *Isthmian wall:* it has very high sides; and even in its present state, the stone-work and some of the benches remain at its upper end, although earthquakes or torrents have forced channels into the arena. It extends east and west, parallel to one side of the area of the *temple*, to which it was adjoined. Just at the place where the *Isthmian wall* joins mount *Oneius*, is a *tumulus*, perhaps that which was supposed to contain the body of MELICERTES; in honour of whose burial the *Isthmian games* were instituted, above thirteen hundred years

* Called by Pausanias λίθος λευκος; (vid. p. 112. Corinthiac. c. 1. ed. *Kuhnii;*) but this is an expression often applied by him where marble has been used.

† Τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζον, κ. τ. λ. Corinthiac. c. 1. p. 112. ed. *Kuhnii.*

‡ Θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια ἐστὶ μὲν ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ, ἔστι δὲ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ λίθου λευκοῦ. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 1. p. 112. ed. *Kuhnii.*

before the Christian era. It stands on a very conspicuous eminence above the wall, which here passes toward the south-south-east, quite to the port, after reaching the mount. There was within the sacred *Peribolus*, according to *Pausanias*,* a temple dedicated to *Melicertes*, under his *posthumous* name of *Palæmon*;† and it contained statues of the *boy*, and of his mother *Leucothea*, and of *Neptune*. The situation, therefore, of the *tomb*, almost contiguous with the *Peribolus*, is very remarkable; the whole of these magnificent structures, the *temples*, the *theatre*, the *stadium*, and the ISTHMIA themselves, having originated in the honours paid to his sepulchre. Going from the *stadium* toward this wall, we found fragments of *Doric* columns, whose shafts were near six feet in diameter: the edges of the *canelure* being sharp: these were of the same *white limestone* as the rest. But among all the remains here, perhaps the most remarkable, as corresponding with the indications left us by *Pausanias* of the spot, is the living family of those *pine-trees*, sacred to *Neptune*, which he says grew in a right line, upon one side, in the approach to the temple; the statues of victors in the games being upon the other side.‡ Many of these, self sown, are seen on the outside of the wall, upon the slope of the land facing the port.§ They may also be observed further along the coast; which exactly agrees with a remark made by the same author, who relates, that in the beginning of the Isthmus there were *pine-trees*, to which the robber *Sinis* used to bind his captives.|| Every thing conspires to render their appearance here particularly interesting: the victors of the *Isthmia* were originally crowned with garlands made of their leaves, although chaplets of *parsley* were afterwards used instead of them;** they are

* Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 2. p. 113. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων Ἰσθμὸν ὑπὸ δελφῖνος (ὡς λέγεται) τȣ̃ παιδὸς, τιμαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι τῷ ΜΕΛΙΚΕΡΤΗΙ δίδονται μετονομασθέντι ΠΑΛΑΙΜΟΝΙ, καὶ ΤΩΝ ΙΣΘΜΙΩΝ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΑΓΟΥΣΙ. Pausan. Attica, c. 44. p. 108. ed. *Kuhnii*.

‡ Ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐς τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃ τὸ ἱερὸν, τȣ̃το μὲν ἀθλητῶν νικησάντων τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐστήκασιν εἰκόνες, τȣ̃το δὲ ΠΙΤΤΩΝ ΔΕΝΔΡΑ ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. Pausan. Corinth. c. 1. p. 112. ed. *Kuhnii*.

§ This pine is a variety of the *Pinus sylvestris*, commonly called *Pinus maritima*. Wheler called these trees "Sea Pines with small cones." See *Journey into Greece*, p. 446. *Lond.* 1682.

|| Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 1. p. 111. ed. *Kuhnii*.

** Archbishop Potter observes, that "the use of *parsley* was afterwards left off, and the *pine-tree* came again into request; which alterations Plutarch has accounted for in the fifth book of his *Symposiacks*." (Quæst. 3. *Archæologia*, vol. I. c. 25. p. 457. *Lond.* 1751.

particularly alluded to by *Pausanias*, as one of the characteristic features of the country: and that they were regarded with a superstitious veneration to a late age, appears from the circumstance of their being represented upon the Greek colonial medals, struck in honour of the Roman emperors. Allusion was made in the last chapter to a bronze medal found at Sicyon, whereon one of these trees is represented with the boy *Melicertes* upon *a dolphin*.

The vicinity of these ruins to the sea has very much facilitated the removal of many valuable antiquities, as materials for building: the inhabitants of all the neighbouring shores having long been accustomed to resort hither, as to a quarry: but no excavations have hitherto taken place. Persons have been recently sent from England to carry on researches, by digging upon the site of the ancient cities and temples of Greece, and it may therefore be hoped that this spot will not remain long neglected. There is no part of the country which more especially requires this kind of examination. The concourse to the ISTHMIA was of such a nature, and continued for so many ages, that if there be a place in all Greece likely to repay the labour and the expense necessary for such an undertaking, it is the spot where these splendid solemnities were held. Indeed, this has been already proved, in the quantity of medals found continually by the peasants of *Hexamillia* among the ruins here: and the curious inscription which *Wheler* discovered lying upon the area of the temple* affords reasonable ground for believing, that many other documents, of the same nature, might be brought to light with very little difficulty.

In returning from the site of these antiquities to *Hexamillia*, we observed several tombs by the side of the old road which led from *Corinth* to the town of *Isthmus*, exactly similar to the mounds we had seen in Kuban Tartary. This primeval mode of burial, originally introduced into Greece by the *Titan-Celts*, continued in use among the *Corinthians*; for *Pausanias*, speaking of the ancient inhabitants, says, that they interred their dead always beneath a heap of earth.

As soon as we arrived at *Hexamillia*, the inhabitants of both sexes, and of all ages, tempted by the sight which they had already gained of the new *parahs*, flocked around us, bringing carpets for us to sit upon in the open air: and a ve-

* See Wheler's "Journey into Greece," Book vi. p. 438.
ΘΕΟΙΣ·ΠΑΤΡΙΟΙΣ·ΚΑΙ·ΤΗΙ·ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ· κ. τ. λ.

ry curious market was opened for the sale of a single commodity; namely, the ancient medals found at different times among the ruins we had visited. The young women wore several silver medals mixed with base coin as ornaments, in a kind of cap upon their foreheads, and among their hair. These they were not very willing to dispose of; but the temptation offered by the shining *paraks* was not to be resisted, and we bought almost all we saw. The bronze coins were in great number: but we obtained many very curious medals in silver; and among these, the most ancient of the city of *Corinth*, in rude globular forms, exhibiting the head of *Pallas* in front, within a square indented cavity; and upon their obverse sides, those antique figures of *Pegasus*, in which the wings of the horse are inflected toward the mane. The medals with this die have been sometimes confounded with those of Sicily; but we obtained one whereon appeared, in Roman characters, the letters COR. One of the most curious things which we noticed among our acquisitions, was an ancient forgery; a base coin of *Corinth*, made of brass, and silvered over. The others consisted of silver and bronze medals, *Alexander the Great*; of *Phocis*; of *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*; of *Megara*; of *Alea* in *Arcadia*; *Argos*; *Sicyon*; *Ægina*; and *Chalcis*; together with a few Roman coins, and some of less note. We were surprised by not finding among them any of *Athens*; which are common enough elsewhere. When we had concluded our business in *Hexamillia*, we returned again to *Corinth*; and saw, in our road, the remains of some buildings, evidently Roman, from the appearance of the *opus reticulatum* in the masonry; among these was the ruin of a large structure, which seemed to have been an aqueduct.

It was late when we reached our quarters. Two of the Levant Consuls sate with us during the evening. Their uniform combines, in a singular manner, the habits of eastern and western nations: it is a long dress, with a three-cornered hat, a bag wig, and an anchor on the button of the hat.

On Sunday, November the fifteenth, there was a fair in *Corinth*. We saw nothing worth notice, except an Arcadian pipe, upon which a shepherd was playing in the streets. It was perfectly *Pandæan*; consisting simply of a goat's horn, with five holes for the fingers, and a small aperture at the end for the mouth. It is exceedingly difficult to produce

any sound whatever from this small instrument; but the shepherd made the air resound with its shrill notes: and we bought his pipe. This day we left *Corinth* entirely. The Bey positively refused to allow us to proceed by land to *Megara:* we therefore engaged with a couple of men who had a boat stationed in the harbour of *Cenchreæ*, to take us along the coast. In our way to that harbour, we again visited the village of *Hexamillia;* and, after passing the same, we perceived that the *Stone Quarries*, the remains of the *Isthmian wall*, and of the *town of Isthmus* as its eastern extremity, are seen forming a high ridge upon the *left* hand, parallel to the mountains upon the *right*. The remains at CENCHREÆ faithfully correspond with the description given by *Pausanias* of the place.* We visited the *Bath of Helen:* it is formed by a spring, which here boils up with force enough to turn a mill, close to the sea. We found no difference of temperature, whether the thermometer were placed in the water of this spring, or in the sea, or exposed in the shade to the air of the atmosphere at mid-day. The three trials gave exactly the same result;—64° of Fahrenheit. The men we had hired did not return from the fair; so, after waiting for some time, we procured another boat, and went to a village, the name of which was pronounced *Convangee,*† where we passed the night. The next morning, at sunrise, we embarked again. The wind proved contrary. We landed, and reached a miserable hamlet, consisting only of six houses, called *Carneta* or *Carnetto*, upon the site of the ancient CROMYON. Its wretched inhabitants, a set of sickly looking people, in the midst of very bad air, had never seen a glove, and expressed the utmost astonishment at seeing a person take one off his hand. Notwithstanding the insalubrity of the situation, and the unhealthy looks of the people, there was no appearance of poverty or misery within their cottages. The houses, like those of the *Albanians* in general, were very neat, although the cattle lodged with their owners beneath the same roof. The resemblance which the Albanians bear to the Highlanders of Scotland, in their dress, habits, and mode of life, is said to be very striking in a land which is more peculiarly

* Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 2. p. 114. ed. *Kuhn.* The place is now called by its ancient name, pronounced *Cenchri.*

† This, in all probability, is very remote from the manner in which this word ought to be written. If it be a Greek name, the *V* is always β.

their own,* and where their employments are less agricultural than in the *Morea;* but even here we could not avoid being struck with appearances, forcibly calling to mind the manners and customs we had often witnessed among Caledonian heaths and mountains. The floors were all of earth; and, instead of chimnies, there was in every cottage a hole through the roof; but the walls were neatly white-washed, and the hard earthen floors were swept, and made as clean as possible. Every house had its oven which was kept remarkably clean; and the whitest bread was set before us, with the richest and most highly-flavoured honey. The fire being kindled in the middle of the floor, the peasants form a circle around it, sitting or lying with their feet toward the hearth. Their conversation is cheerful and animated; and, as it was interpreted to us, it seemed to be filled with as lively sallies of wit against the faults of their governors, as it is usual to hear among nations boasting of the freedom they enjoy. We could not hear of any antiquities in the neighbourhood; nor did we expect even a tradition of the *Cromyonian sow*, or any other exploit of *Theseus* in the Straits of *Peloponnesus*, among a people who are not the indigenous inhabitants of the country. A single black *terra-cotta* vessel, of small size, and shaped like a bottle, found in some sepulchre near the place, was the only relic of ancient *Cromyon* that we were able to procure.

Monday, November the sixteenth, the wind continuing still contrary, we hired asses, and determined to proceed by land; being now safe from interruption on the part of the governor of *Corinth*, and relying upon the *Albanians* for protection, who are generally considered as the only persons exercising the *Scironian* profession in those parts. At the same time, we sent the boat to *Megara* with our baggage. In our road we saw a great number of those *pines* or *pitch trees*, alluded to by authors with reference to the history of the famous robber *Sinis*;† who, first bending their stems to

* There is an observation upon this subject by Lord Byron, in the notes to his deathless poem, "*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.*" "The *Arnaouts*, or *Albanese*, struck me forcibly by their resemblance to the Highlanders of Scotland, in dress, figure, and manner of living. Their very mountains seemed *Caledonian* with a kinder climate. The kilt, though white; the spare, active form; their dialect, CELTIC in its sound; and their hardy habits, all carried me back to Morven." *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Notes to Canto* II. p. 125. *Lond.* 1812.

† Ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔνθα ὁ λῃστὴς ΣΙΝΙΣ λαμβανόμενος πιτύων ἦγεν ἐς τὸ κάτω σφᾶς. Pausan. Corinth. c. 1. p. 111. ed. *Kuhnii.*

the earth, fastened his prisoners to the branches, so that when the trees, by their elasticity, sprang up again, the bodies of his captives were torn asunder. We passed under the *Scironian rocks:* their appearance is very remarkable, and likely to give rise to fabulous tales, if they had been situated in any other country. They consist of *breccia*, which here, as in the *Isthmus of Corinth*, and indeed over all the north of *Peloponnesus*, and in *Attica*, is superjacent upon a stratum of limestone. The *breccia* of the *Scironian rocks* presents, toward the sea, a steep and slippery precipice, sloping from the narrowest part of the *Isthmian Strait* toward the *Sinus Saronicus*. It is so highly polished, either by the former action of the sea to which it is opposed, or by the rushing of torrents occasionally over its surface, that any person falling from the heights would glide as over a surface of glass; and be dashed to pieces upon the shore, or, in some parts of the precipice, fall into the waves. The story of *Sappho* has given the name of "*The Lover's Leap*" to at least a dozen precipices, in as many different parts of the world; and this is one of the places whence *Ino* is said to have precipitated herself, with her son *Melicertes*.* Hence, also, the old stories of the dangers to which travellers were exposed in the narrow pass above SCIRONIA SAXA, from the assaults of SCIRON, who, it was said, compelled them to wash his feet, and then kicked them down these precipices into the sea. Not only were the rocks called *Scironian*, but the road itself was named SCIRON. It was said to have been enlarged by the emperor *Hadrian;* but we found it to be so narrow, after we had gained the heights, that there was barely room for two persons on horseback to pass each other. A lofty mountain above the pass covered with snow during the greater part of the year, is called *Gerao*, the ancient *Gerania*.† We had seen it from the pass of *Tretus*, near the *cave of the Nemeæan Lion*, in our journey from *Mycenæ* to *Nemea*. There is a town near this mountain, called *Calaverti*. We soon came to the *ancient paved way* leading from *Attica* into *Peloponnesus;* and arrived at the *wall* and *arched gate*, high above the sea; where, in the narrow strait, is still marked the ancient boun-

* Vid. Pausan in Attic. c. 44. p. 108. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Wheler says the modern name of *Gerania* is *Paleo vouni*. See *Journ. into Greece*, p. 436. *Lond.* 1682.

dary between the two countries. The old portal, once of so much importance, is now a ruin; but part of the stonework, mixed with tiles, which was above an arch, yet remains on the side of the mountain; and beyond it, on the side of Attica, we saw more of the old paved road. The place is now called *Katche Scala;* a modern method of pronouncing Κακὴ Σκάλα, the *bad way.* The defile was always considered as full of danger to the traveller; and it maintains its pristine character. The Turks never pass it without the most lively apprehensions; expecting to be attacked here by banditti. *Ibrahim*, that he might avoid this pass, had preferred a tedious and turbulent passage in the boat with our baggage. For our parts, we reposed such confidence in our worthy *Albanians*, that we never bestowed a thought upon the chance of meeting robbers; and they liked our society the better because we were not accompanied by a *Turk.* Close to the *Scironian gate* we observed a prodigious block of white marble, lying out of the road upon the brink of the precipice; which had been thrown down, and had very nearly fallen from the heights into the sea. There was an inscription upon it, perhaps relating to the widening of the pass, and to the repairs of the road by *Hadrian;* but we could only trace a semblance of the follwing letters:

ΟΔ

ΟΙΟΝΑΙΑΘΩΝΔΩΙΟ

At the place where the arch stood was perhaps formerly the *Stélé* erected by Theseus; inscribed on one side, "HERE IS PELEPONNESUS, NOT IONIA;" and upon the other, "HERE IS NOT PELOPONNESUS, BUT IONIA." Having passed this spot, we now quitted the *Morea*, and once more entered HELLAS,* by the *Megarean* land.

We began to descend almost immediately; and, as we had expected from the frequent instances which characterize the Grecian cities, we no sooner drew nigh to MEGARA, than the prospect of a beautiful and extensive plain opened before

*"Ab Isthmi augustiis *Hellas* incipit, nostris *Græcia* appellata." *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iv. c. 7. tom. I. p. 210. *L. Bat.* 1635.

us, walled on every side by mountains, but in this example somewhat elevated above the usual level of such champaign territories. From a view of this important field, it must be evident that the town of *Megara* owed its celebrity more to its fertile domain, than to its position with respect to the sea; yet it is natural to suppose that the inhabitants of this country were fishermen and pirates, before they turned their attention toward the produce of the soil. Plutarch believed, that the fabled contest between *Neptune* and *Minerva*, for *Attica*, was an allusion to the efforts made by the ancient kings of the country, to withdraw their subjects from a seafaring life, toward agricultural employments.* Be this as it may: when both were united, and it is known that the convenience of a maritime situation was superadded to the advantages of inland wealth, we no longer wonder that *Megara* was able to make so distinguished a figure as she formerly did, in the common cause. At the battle of *Salamis* she furnished twenty ships for the defence of Greece; and at *Platæa* numbered her three hundred warriors in the army of Pausanias. The city existed above eleven centuries before the Christian era; and, in the days of its splendour, it boasted its peculiar sect of philosophers. Its situation also with respect to *Peloponnesus* added to its consequence; being the depository of all goods intended for conveyance over the *Scironian* defile. As the traveller descends from this pass, it appears upon a rock, which is situated upon the edge of an immense quadrangular plain extending toward the left of the spectator; the site of the present town being close to that corner of it which is toward the sea, and nearest to *Eleusis*. Upon our left, just before we arrived, we saw a large *tumulus*, on which there seems to have stood some considerable monument. The place is much altered even since *Wheler's* time; but the inhabitants retain many old Grecian customs. We saw them roast a large goat entire, upon a pole, in the middle of the public street. It is from *Megara* that *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus*, desires his friend to send him two specimens of Grecian sculpture. Formerly it was famous for its earthenware; and fine vases have been found here by modern travellers; but we were not fortunate in our inquiry

* Vid. Plutarch. in Themist. p. 87. l. 1. 23.

after its *terra-cottas*: we procured only a few fragments of a bright red colour, beautifully fluted, that we found lying among the ruins of the city. We had better success in our search for inscriptions; although it may be said of *Megara*, (whose antiquities in the second century occupied, in their mere enumeration, six chapters of *Pausanias's** description of Greece,) that, excepting its name, it retains hardly any thing to remind us of its former consideration. The first inscription that we found here, is "in honour of Callinicus, Scribe and Gymnasiarch." It was upon a large stone, twelve feet in length, in the front of an ancient gate leading from the city toward the sea. This is the identical inscription which *Wheler* has published;† and we discovered it exactly as it was left by him. The next is a very fine one, which he did not observe; and it is much more worthy of preservation. We saw it at the house of the *Archon* where we lodged; it is in honour of HADRIAN, whose usual titles are added. From the title of OLYMPIUS, once bestowed by the *Athenians* upon *Pericles*,‡ and answering to ΔΙΟΣ, we are able to ascertain the date of the inscription; which is of the year of Christ 132.§ It sets forth, that, "under the care of *Julius* the *Proconsul*, and in the *Prætorship* of *Aischron*, this (*monument* or *statue*) is raised by the *Adrianidæ* to ADRIAN."

* Fragments of the *Lapis Conchites* mentioned by Pausanias, (*Attic.* c. 33. p. 107. *ed. Kuhnii*,) and vestiges of the "*long walls*," were observed at *Megara*, by Mr. *Walpole* and *professor Palmer*.

† See "Wheler's Journey into Greece," p. 434. *Lond.* 1682.

‡ Vid. Plutarch. in fin. Pericl.

§ Vid. Corsini Fast. Att. Diss. xi.

ΤΟΝΔΙΣΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ
ΠΥΘΙΟΝ
ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΝΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΚΤΙΣ
ΤΗΝΚΑΙΝΟ
ΜΟΘΕΤΗΝΚΑΙΤΡΟΦΕΑΑΔΡΙΑ
ΝΙΔΑΙΥΠΟ
ΤΗΝΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΚΑΝ
ΔΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΥΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΗ
ΓΟΥΝ
ΤΟΣΑΙΣΧΡΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΔΑΜΟΚ
ΛΕΟΥΣ

We copied a few other inscriptions; but some of them are already published,* and the others are in too imperfect a state to be rendered intelligible. The medals brought by the inhabitants were few in number, and badly preserved.† Ionic and Doric capitals, of white limestone and of marble, lie scattered among the ruins, and in the courts of some of the houses. The remains of the "long walls" which enclosed the land between *Megara* and the sea, and connected the *city* with its *port*, are yet visible; and within this district, below the present town, some pieces of fine

* See "Wheler's Journey into Greece," p. 432, &c. *Lond.* 1682.

† Bronze coins, with an entire legend, ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ, are so in the collection at Paris, exhibiting the head of *Apollo* in front, and for reverse *a Lyre*: but these seem to have belonged to a city of Sicily. The medals of Attic *Megara* exhibit in front the *prow of a ship*; and for their obverse, either a *Tripod* between *two Dolphins*, or the *two Dolphins* without the *Tripod*. The author has never seen a silver medal answering this description; but as a proof that these are medals of the *Attic*, and not of the *Sicilian Megara*, it should be mentioned, that they are found here upon the spot; and the circumstance of his having found them in abundance upon the neighbouring *Isthmus of Corinth* may be also alleged as presumptive evidence of the fact. The oldest medals of *Megara* that he has seen, exhibit *two Dolphins* in front; and for reverse merely a square indentation: and these were found by him at *Hexamillia* in the *Isthmus*.

sculpture have been discovered, and long since carried away. Here is also a *well*, supposed to be that fountain mentioned by *Pausanias*,* as adorned by *Theagenes*, and sacred to the *Sithnides;* near to which there was a *temple*, containing the works of *Praxiteles*. A modern superstition belonging to this *well*† seems to associate with the circumstance of its ancient history, and thereby to identify the spot; which may be of consequence to future travellers, who visit *Megara* for the purpose of making excavations.

Thursday, November the seventeenth, we began our journey from *Megara* toward *Eleusis* and *Athens*, filled with curiosity to examine the vestiges of the *Eleusinian Temple;* and along a tract of land where every footstep excites the most affecting recollections. By every ancient *well*, and upon every *tomb*, at which the traveller is induced to halt, and to view the noble objects by which he is surrounded, a crowd of interesting events rush into his mind; and so completely occupy it, that even fatigue and fever, from which he is seldom free, are for a moment forgotten. As we left *Megara*, we had a magnificent view of the *Saronic Gulf*, and of the island *Salamis*, the scene of the great naval engagement, where three hundred and eighty sail of the Grecian fleet defeated the vast armament of Xerxes, amounting to two thousand ships. The distance between *Megara* and *Eleusis*, according to the *Antonine Itinerary*, is thirteen miles. After travelling half an hour, we observed, in the plain upon our right, the remains of a building which seemed to have been an ancient temple; and one mile further, we observed a similar ruin upon an eminence by the same side of the road. The plain here is very beautiful and fertile. When *Wheler* passed, it was covered with anemonies.‡ Another ruin appeared also upon a hill a quarter of a mile nearer to *Eleusis;* and a little beyond this, upon the left, close to the road, we saw two *tombs* opposite to each other. Soon afterwards we came to a *well*, at which our guides stopped to water their mules. Soon after passing this well we saw another *tomb*, and many heaps of stones, as of ruined structures, upon our left. The reader, comparing these remains with the account given by

* Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη, καὶ σφίσιν ᾠκοδόμησε Θεαγένης, κ. τ. λ. καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς τύτην ῥεῖ καλούμενον Σιθνιδῶν νυμφῶν. Pausaniæ Attica, c. 40. p. 96. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† See Hobhouse's Travels, p. 482. *Lond.* 1813.

‡ Journey into Greece, p. 430. *Lond.* 1682.

Pausanias, may affix names to them according to his own ideas of their coincidence with his description. An author would not be pardoned who launches into mere conjecture with regard to any one of them. We then began to ascend a part of the mountain *Kerata*, so named from its double summit, and now called *Gerata*. We saw upon the shore below us a few houses, and an appearance as of an ancient *mole*, projecting into the sea; yet no author has mentioned the existence of any maritime establishment between the two cities of *Megara* and *Eleusis*. Hence we descended into the *Eleusinian Plain;* spreading out with indescribable beauty, as in the instances so often noticed; the mountains that surround it seeming to rise out of it; presenting before us that fertile land which is said to have invited the first labours of the plough; and where the first wheat was sown by the instructions of the Goddess of Agriculture. We had no sooner descended into it, than, turning round the mountain toward the *left*, we found the distinct traces of a *temple*, and, farther on, of another structure. We observed a tower upon a hill toward our right: and, soon after, we saw lying in the plain the marble *torso* of a colossal statue, which, with some difficulty, we devested of the soil that had accumulated around it. This *torso* seemed to be that of a *sphinx*, or of a *lion;* the latter animal is sometimes represented as drawing the *car of Ceres*. It consisted of the white marble of mount *Pentelicus*. Still advancing, we perceived upon the *left* the vestiges of *a temple*, and *a well*, at which women were washing linen. This *well* appeared to us, in all respects, to correspond with the situation of that famous WELL, called Ἀνθῖνον, or, *the flowery*, where *Ceres* is fabled to have rested from the fruitless search of her daughter *Proserpine*.*

Arriving upon the site of the city of ELEUSIS, we found the plain to be covered with its ruins. The first thing we noticed was an *aqueduct*, part of which is entire. Six complete arches are yet to be seen. It conducted toward the *Acropolis*, by the *Temple of Ceres*. The remains of this *temple* are more conspicuous than those of any other struc-

* Wheler has placed this *well* further from *Eleusis*, on the road to *Megara;* and he mentions a small plain which he believed to have been the *Rharian*, as distinct from *Eleusis*, (See "*Journ. into Greece*," p. 430. *Lond.* 1682.) which we failed to observe. The plain of *Eleusis* is about eight miles long, and four in breadth. Wheler makes the *Rharian* plain "a valley only three or four miles in compass."

ture except the *aqueduct*. The paved road which led to it is also visible, and the pavement of the *temple* yet remains. But to heighten the interest with which we regarded the relics of the *Eleusinian fane*, and to fulfil the sanguine expectations we had formed, the fragment of a colossal statue, mentioned by many authors as that of the *goddess* herself, appeared in colossal majesty among the mouldering vestiges of her once splendid sanctuary. We found it, exactly as it had been described to us by the consul at *Nauplia*, on the side of the road, immediately before entering the village, and in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck, a little beyond the farther extremity of the pavement of the *temple*. Yet even this degrading situation had not been assigned to it wholly independent of its ancient history. The inhabitants of the small village which is now situated among the ruins of *Eleusis* still regarded this *statue* with a very high degree of superstitious veneration. They attributed to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields. They believed that the loss of it would be followed by no less a calamity than the failure of their annual harvests; and they pointed to the *ears of bearded wheat*, among the sculptured ornaments upon the head of the figure, as a never-failing indication of the produce of the soil. To this circumstance may, perhaps, be attributed a main part of the difficulties opposed to its removal, in the various attempts made for the purpose, during the years that have elapsed since it was first noticed by an English traveller.* With regard to the allusions subsequently made to it by other writers, as the author has already concentrated every testimony of this nature,† it will not be necessary to repeat them here. It is sufficient merely to state, that this *statue*, consisting of the white marble of *Pentelicus*, which also afforded the materials of the *temple*, bears evident marks of the best age of the Grecian sculpture: but it is in a very ruined state. A vein of *schistus*, one of the extraneous substances common to the *Pentelican* marble, traversing the whole mass of the stone in a direction parallel to the back of the statue, has suffered decomposition during the lapse of ages in which it has remained

* Sir George Wheler, in 1676.

† "*Greek Marbles*," *Cambridge*, 1809. To which may also be added the testimony of *Perry*, as given in his "*View of the Levant*," printed in 1743.

exposed to the action of the atmosphere; and by its exfoliation, has caused the face, and a part of the neck, of the statue to fall off; but in the *Calathus*, which yet remains as an ornament of the head, the sculpture, although much injured, is still fine: and that it was originally finished with the greatest elegance and labour is evident; because, in the foliage of a chaplet which surrounds the whole, a small *poppy* is represented upon every leaf, carved and polished with all the perfection of a Caméo. The remains of the *temple* have been described by almost all the authors who have mentioned the *statue;* and its dimensions are given by Chandler.* The broken shafts and capitals of the columns lie around in promiscuous heaps of ruin. We sought, without success, the pedestal believed by Whelerf to have been the base of the statue; but we discovered the following inscription upon a marble pedestal of no considerable magnitude.

ΗΕΞΑΡΕΙΟΠΑΓΟΥ
ΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΗΒΟΥΛΗ
ΤΩΝΦΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΟΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΑΝΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΑΝΚΛΑΥ
ΔΙΟΥΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΤΟΥ
ΔΛΔΟΥΧΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΘΥΓΑΤΕ
ΡΑΚΛΑΥΔΕΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΕΓ
ΓΟΝΟΝΑΙΛΠΡΑΞΑΓΟΡΟΥΑ
ΠΟΓΟΝΟΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

"*In honour of Claudia Menandra, the daughter of Claudius Philippus, who had been Torch-bearer at the Mysteries, the Senate of the Areopagus, the Council of Five Hundred, and People of Athens, erect this.*"

We found also another, "*in honour of one of the Eumolpidæ,*" inscribed upon the same kind of bluish limestone which was used for the frieze of the *erecthéum* at Athens, and of which the *cella* of the *temple* here also consisted. The

* Travels in Greece, p. 190. *Oxf.* 1776.
† Journey into Greece, p. 428. *Lond.* 1682.

stone being partly buried, we could only read the following characters:

ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝΛΥΚΟΜΙ....
ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΕΝΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΜΕ....
ΑΛΩΩΝΕΝΣΑΜΩΔΕΤΗΣ
ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΤΗΣ ... ΡΟ..

Upon a very large cylindrical pedestal of marble, before a small church now occupying a part of the site of a *temple*,* perhaps that of *Diana Propylæa*, upon the brow of the hill, we found another inscription: this was observed in the same place by *Spon*, and it was afterward published in his work.†

We must now interrupt our account of the antiquities of *Eleusis*, by a transition as sudden as was the cause of it. Having made some proposals to the priest of the village for the purpose of purchasing and removing the mutilated fragment of the *statue of Ceres*, and of using his influence with the people to that effect, we were informed that these measures could only be pursued by obtaining a *firmân* from the *Waiwode* of *Athens;* to whom, as lord of the manor, all property of this description belonged. We no sooner received the information, than we resolved to set off instantly from *Eleusis;* and endeavour to accomplish so desirable an object. For the present, therefore, our observations will be principally confined to the subject of this undertaking.

It has been before stated that *Ibrahim*, our *Tchohodar*, was himself a kinsman of the governor of *Athens;* the very person unto whom an application in this instance was necessary. This man promised all the assistance in his power; and it was agreed, that the whole management of the affair, as far as it related to the *Waiwode*, should be left to his discretion. We gave up the design we had formed, of remaining for the present at *Eleusis*, and set out for *Athens*.

A part of the pavement of the *Via Sacra* is still visible, after quitting the site of the *temple of Ceres*, and the remains of several monuments appear upon either side of it. The

* See the engraving from Mr. *Gell's* accurate view of *Eleusis*, as published in 1809: "*Greek Marbles*," p. 15.

† Voyage de Grèce, &c. tom. II. p. 335. *à la Haye*, 1724.

great ruins of the *Aqueduct* are upon the left. Soon afterwards, close to the road, on the same side of the way, appears an oblong quadrangular base of some fine structure, consisting of large blocks of white marble, neatly fitted together. There are other works of the same kind. Perhaps every one of these might be ascertained, by a careful attention to the description given of the objects in this route by *Pausanias*.* Soon after leaving *Eleusis*, the road bears eastward across the *Thriasian Plain*, which is marshy toward the sea; and the remains of the old causeway, consisting of large round stones, overgrown with rushes, along which the annual procession moved from *Athens*, is conspicuous in many places. Hereabout we crossed the bed of a river almost dry, and saw by the side of it the vestiges of *a temple*. Another superb basement appeared in this part of the road, similarly constructed, and of the same materials as that we have just noticed. We also observed the ruins of another *temple*, close to the sea, upon our right; whereof one column yet remained; and some of the stones were still standing. This district, lying toward the borders of *Attica*, in a very remote age constituted the regal territory of *Crocon*.† But there is a circumstance, as connected with the most ancient geography of these regions, that does not seem to have been duly regarded. It was first pointed out by a learned ancestor of the author of these travels: and as it is of importance in the establishment of an historical fact, namely, the common origin of the *Goths* and the *Greeks*, it may be here briefly stated, as deduced from his observations, and founded upon the authorities he has cited:‡ it is this, that the whole of the *Eleusinian* plain, together with a part of *Attica*,§ were once included within the limits of THRACE, whose southern frontier extended, as *Thucydides* informs us,‖ even to the *gulf of Corinth*. In the dispute between *Eumolpus* the *Thracian*, and *Erectheus*, king of *Athens*, the former laid claim to *Athens*** itself, as part of his father's dominions. The capitals of these two princes were not

* Ἰόντι δὲ ἐν' Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱερὰν, κ. τ. λ. Paus. Attica. c. 36. p. 88. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Vid. Pausan. Ibid. p. 91.

‡ See the "*Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English coins*," &c. by William Clarke, M. A. *Lond.* 1767. pp. 65, 66, 67.

§ Τὴν μὲν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μετὰ Εὐμόλπου Θρᾶκες ἴσχον. Strabon. Geog. lib. vii.

‖ Thucyd. l. ii. c. 29. p. 100.

** Hygin. c. 46.

more than fifteen miles distant from each other; and there was as little difference in their manners as their situation. This appears by the issue of the war, which was so amicably concluded. The terms were, that, for the future, the inhabitants of both cities, *Athens* and *Eleusis*, should be considered as one people;* that the religion of *Eleusis*, the mysteries so long known, and so much revered under that name, should be received at *Athens;* the descendants of *Eumolpus* being entitled to the PRIESTHOOD and the family of *Erecthens* to the CROWN.†

Two streams of salt water, called *Rhéti* by *Pausanias*, are described by him as the limits between the *Eleusinian* and the *Attic* territories. Before we reached them, and nearer to *Eleusis*, we had passed, as we have stated, the bed of a river whose dry and pebbled channel was almost exhausted of its water. By the side of it we observed the remains of a *temple* before mentioned, about an hundred and fifty paces from the road; and this stream was doubtless the *Eleusinian Cephissus* of *Pausanias*.‡ As we drew near to the *Rhéti*, the road passes close to the sea; and here, upon our left hand, we saw a small lake, which owes its origin to a dam that has been constructed close to the beach, buoying up a body of salt water, this water oozing continually from a sandy stratum, fills the lake, and becomes finally discharged, through *two channels*, into the gulf. These appear to have been the ducts to which *Pausanias* alludes under the appellation of the *Rhéti*, which were severally sacred to *Ceres* and to *Proserpine:* and there is every reason to believe, that the lake itself is at the least as ancient as the time when the *Hiera* of those divinities stood upon its borders; else it were difficult to conceive how the fishes could have been preserved, which the priests alone were permitted to take from the consecrated flood.§ It is hardly credible, that a supply of this nature was afforded by any of the shallow streams which might have been found near to this spot, struggling

* Pausan. lib. i. Ἀπὸ τοῦ (i. e. Εὐμόλπου) Εὐμολπίδαι καλοῦνται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. Diog. Laert. in procœm. p. 4. Thucyd. p. 496. Hesych. et Suidas in v. Εὐμολπίδαι. These mysteries were supposed to come originally from ORPHEUS. Τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰς τελετὰς ΟΡΦΕΥΣ, ἀνὴρ Ὀδρύσης, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκόμισεν. Theodoret. Therapeut. "Eleusiniorum sacra mystica ORPHEUS, natione Thrax, in Athenas importavit." *See also Pausanias.*

† Ibid. Clarke's Connexion, &c. p. 66. *Lond.* 1767.

‡ Paus. Attic. c. 38. p. 92. ed. *Kuhnii.*

§ Λέγονται δὲ οἱ ΠΕΙΤΟΙ Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι· καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσίν ἐστιν αἱρεῖν μόνοις. Paus. Attic. c. 37. p. 91. ed. *Kuhnii.*

for a passage through their now exhausted channels. There is something remarkable in the natural history of the lake, beside the saline property of its water. Our guides informed us, that *petroleum*, or, as it is vulgarly called, *mineral tar*, is often collected upon its surface; which is extremely probable, owing to the nature of the *sand-stone* stratum whence the water flows, and to the marshy nature of the land in its vicinity. Two mills are now turned by the two streams issuing from this lake. After having passed the *Rhéti*, we came to a narrow pass, skirting the base of a marble rock toward the shore, and cut out of the solid stone, having the sea close to us upon our right hand. This narrow pass was evidently the point of separation between the two ancient kingdoms of *Eumolpus* and *Erectheus*.* Hence, turning from the shore toward the left, we entered a narrow valley by a gentle ascent, which is the entrance to the *defile of Daphne;* and we perceived, that the perpendicular face of the rock, upon this side of the road, had been artificially planed, and contained those niches for *votive tablets* which have been before described in this work. Such appearances are always of importance in the eyes of the literary traveller, because they afford indisputable proofs of the former sanctity of the spot: and although it may be difficult to state precisely what the nature of the *Hieron* was where the original *vows* were offered, it will, perhaps, be easy to explain why these testimonies of Pagan piety distinguish this particular part of the *sacred way:* the niches being situated near to the spot where the first view of *Eleusis* presented itself to the Athenian devotees, in their annual procession to the city. This seems to have been the rock which is mentioned by *Pausanias*, under the appellation of PŒCILE: in his journey from Athens, he mentions its occurrence before his arrival at the *Rhéti*, and at this extremity of the defile.† After this we came to a wall, which is supposed to be alluded to by *Pausanias* as marking the site of a *temple of Venus*;‡ and presently, in the very centre of the defile, we noticed a large

* According to the valuable work of Mr. Hobhouse, it bears the appellation usually bestowed upon such passes, of *Kake Scala*—the *evil way*. *See Hobhouse's Journey through Albania, &c.* p. 373. *Lond.* 1813.

† Τὸ Ποικίλον καλούμενον ὄρος κ. τ. λ. Vid. Pausan. Attic. c. 37. p. 91. ed. *Kuhnii.*

‡ Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστι, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θέας ἄξιον. Pausan. Attic. c. 37. p. 91. ed. *Kuhnii.*

ancient tomb,* and arrived at the *monastery of Daphne*, whose romantic situation and picturesque appearance, in the midst of rocks and overshadowing pines, has been a theme of admiration amongst all travellers. Part of its materials are said to have been derived from the ruins of the *temple of Venus*, now mentioned. The monastery itself seems to occupy the situation assigned by *Pausanias* to a *Hieron*, containing the images of *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Minerva*, and *Apollo*; and which had been originally consecrated to the last of these divinities.† We found the building in a ruined state, and altogether abandoned. Our ambassador had already removed some of the antiquities which the place formerly contained; but we saw some broken remains of Ionic pillars of white marble, and other fragments of architectural decorations, whose workmanship denoted the best age of the Grecian sculpture; and in all the pavements of the monastery there were pieces of the finest *verd-antique* breccia, some of which we removed, and sent afterward to England. The remains of *a theatre* are also visible before leaving this defile upon the right hand; and as the hills opened at the other extremity toward sunset, such a prospect of *Athens* and of the *Athenian plain*, with all the surrounding scenery, burst upon our view, as never has been, nor can be described. It presented from the mouth or gap, facing the city, which divides *Corydallus* upon the south, now called the *Laurel Mountain*, from *Ægaleon*, a projecting part of Mount *Parnes* upon the north,‡ immediately before descending into the extensive olive plantations which cover all this side of the plain, upon the banks of the *Cephissus*. There is no spot whence Athens may be seen that can compare with this point of view; and if, after visiting the city, any one should leave it without coming to this eminence to enjoy the prospect here afforded, he will have formed a very inadequate conception of its unspeakable grandeur; for all that nature and art, by every marvellous combination of vast and splendid objects, can possibly exhibit, aided by the most surprising effect of colour, light, and shade, is here presented to

* Pausanias mentions the τάφος of *Theodectes*, of *Phanelitus*, and *Mnesitheus*; and other *monuments* remarkable for their magnitude and the magnificence of their construction. *Ibid.* p. 90.

† Ibid.

‡ See Hobhouse's "Journey through Albania," &c. p. 370, 371. *Lond.* 1813.

the spectator. The wretched representations made of the scenes in Greece, even by the best designs yet published in books of travels, have often been a subject of regret among those who have witnessed its extraordinary beauties; and, in the list of them, perhaps few may be considered as inferior to the numerous delineations which have appeared of this extraordinary city. But with such a spectacle before his eyes as this now alluded to, how deeply does the traveller deplore, that the impression is not only transitory as far as he is concerned in its enjoyment, but that it is utterly incapable of being transmitted to the minds of others. With such reflections, we reluctantly quitted the spot; and passing downward to the plain, crossed the *Cephissus*, and entered the olive-groves extending toward our left over the site of the *academy*. If we may trust the account given us by our *Tchohadar*, there are not less than forty thousand of these trees; the largest and finest of the kind we had seen in Greece.* The air here is very unwholesome during the summer months, owing to the humidity of the soil, and perhaps principally to its not being properly drained. After descending from the defile of Daphne, we observed a large *tomb* upon our left; and before arriving at the site of the *sacred gate*, there are two other *tumuli*; and the remains of an *aqueduct* may be observed, extending in the direction of the *academy*. The *tombs* are mentioned by *Pausanias*, in his journey to *Eleusis*.

In the evening we arrived once more in Athens: and calling upon our former companion, *Lusieri*, were hailed by him with the first news of peace between France and England; a joyful intelligence for us, as we instantly determined to pass through France in our journey home. He also told us of the valuable acquisitions, in vases, gems, and medals, which he had made in *Ægina*, after we had left him upon that island.

The next morning our *Tchohodar* waited upon his relation the *Waiwode*, and communicated to him the subject of our wishes respecting the Eleusinian marble. After some deliberation, the governor acceded to our request; but upon

* The most beautiful wood perhaps ever seen in England is that of Athenian olive, when polished. A table made of this wood is in the possession of the earl of Egremont. It has been cut from some logs of the olive tree, intended as fuel in *Athens*, which the author's brother, the late captain Clarke, of the *Brackel*, brought to this country.

the express condition, that we would obtain for him a small English telescope belonging to *signor Lusieri*. This request opposed a very serious obstacle to our views: because it became necessary to divulge the secret of our undertaking, to a person indeed in whom we could confide, but who was at the moment actually employed in collecting every thing of this kind for our ambassador: who had prohibited the removal of any article of ancient sculpture on the part of his countrymen, excepting into his own warehouses, as an addition to the immense collection he was then forming, in the name, and with the power, of the British nation. Yet was there no time to be lost: the *Waiwode* might soon mention the matter himself to an intriguing consul, who paid him a daily visit; and then, (although the statue was the *Waiwode's* property, and of course the right to dispose of it belonged exclusively to him,) we had reason to know that our project would be instantly frustrated. Accordingly, we made *Lusieri* acquainted with the whole affair; and our generous friend disdaining every unworthy consideration, not only resigned the telescope upon our promise of sending him another from England,* but very kindly undertook to present it himself to the *Waiwode*, and persuade him to observe silence with the consul respecting the measures we were then pursuing. The desired *firmân* was therefore obtained. To complete the whole, it was now necessary to apply to the consul himself, for the use of the ferry-boat plying between *Salamis* and the main land; as the only means of conveying this enormous piece of marble to the *Piræeus*, if we should be so fortunate as to succeed in our endeavours of moving it from its place toward the shore. Such an application, as it might be expected, excited the consul's curiosity to the highest degree: but after many questions, as to the object for which the boat was required, we succeeded in lulling his suspicions; or, if he had any notion of our intention, he believed that the removal of the statue, which had often been attempted before, would baffle every exertion that we could make; and a messenger was despatched to put the boat under our orders. All being now ready, we set out

*We had the satisfaction of hearing that he has since received it safe. It was a very fine telescope, by Ramsden: and it was conveyed to him by the author's friend, Mr. Walpole, the extracts from whose *Manuscript Journal* appear in this work.

again for *Eleusis:* and perhaps a further narrative of the means used by private individuals, unaided by diplomatic power or patronage, to procure for the university of which they are members this interesting monument of the arts and mythology of Greece, although a part of it has been already before the public, may not be deemed an unwelcome addition to this volume.

The difficulties to be encountered were not trivial: we carried with us from *Athens* but few implements: a rope of twisted herbs, and some large nails, were all that the city afforded, as likely to aid the operation. Neither a wheeled carriage, nor blocks, nor pulleys, nor even a saw, could be procured. Fortunately, we found at *Eleusis* several long poles, an axe, and a small saw about six inches in length, such as cutlers sometimes make to shut into the handle of a pocket knife. With these we began the work. The stoutest of the poles were cut, and pieces were nailed in a triangular form, having transverse beams at the vertex and base. Weak as our machine was, it acquired considerable strength by the weight of the statue, when placed upon the transverse beams. With the remainder of the poles were made rollers, over which the triangular frame might move. The rope was then fastened to each extremity of the transverse beams. This simple contrivance succeeded, when perhaps more complicate machinery might have failed: and a mass of marble weighing near two tons was moved over the brow of the hill or Acropolis of *Eleusis*, and from thence to the sea, in about nine hours.

An hundred peasants were collected from the village and neighbourhood of *Eleusis*, and near fifty boys. The peasants were ranged, forty on each side, to work at the ropes; some being employed, with levers, to raise the machine, when rocks or large stones opposed its progress. The boys who were not strong enough to work at the ropes and levers, were engaged in taking up the rollers as fast as the machine left them, and in placing them again in the front.

But the superstition of the inhabitants of *Eluesis*, respecting an idol which they all regarded as the protectress of their fields, was not the least obstacle to be overcome. In the evening, soon after our arrival with the *firmân*, an accident happened which had nearly put an end to the undertaking: While the inhabitants were conversing with the *Tchohodar*, as to the means of its removal, an ox, loosed

from its yoke, came and placed itself before the statue; and, after butting with its horns for some time against the marble, ran off with considerable speed, bellowing, into the plain of *Eleusis*. Instantly a general murmur prevailed; and several women joining in the clamour, it was with difficulty any proposal could be made. "*They had been always*," they said, "*famous for their corn; and the fertility of the land would cease when the statue was removed.*" Such were exactly the words of Cicero with respect to the Sicilians, when Verres removed the statue of Ceres:—"QUOD CERERE VIOLATA, OMNES CULTUS FRUCTUSQUE CERERIS IN HIS LOCIS INTERIISSE ARBITRANTUR."* It was late at night before these scruples were removed. On the following morning, November the twenty-second, the boat arrived from *Salamis*, attended by four monks, who rendered us all the service in their power, but they seemed perfectly panic-struck when we told them that it was our intention to send the statue in their vessel to the *Piræeus*; and betrayed the helplessness of infants when persuaded to join in the labour. The people had assembled, and stood around the statue; but no one among them ventured to begin the work. They believed that the arm of any person would fall off who should dare to touch the marble, or to disturb its position. Upon festiial days they had been accustomed to place before it a burnng lamp. Presently, however, the priest of *Eleusis*, partly induced by entreaty, and partly terrified by the menaces of the *Tchohodar*, put on his canonical vestments, as fora ceremony of high mass, and, descending into the hollow where the statue remained upright, after the rubbish around it had been taken away, gave the first blow with a pickaxe for the removal of the soil, that the people might be convinced no calamity would befal the labourers. The work then went on briskly enough: already the immense mass of marble began to incline from its perpendicular; and the triangular frame was placed in such a situation, that, as the statue fell, it came gradually upon the transverse beams. The rope was then cut, and fastened as traces; one half of it upon either side; and our machine, supported

* *Cicero in Verr.* lib. iv. c. 51. The circumstances which attended the removal of the statues of *Ceres* and *Triptolemus* from the temple at *Enna*, by Verres, were very similar to those which opposed themselves to our undertaking.—"*His pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quòd eorum demolitio, atque asportatio, perdifficilis videbatur.*" Vid. lib. iv. c. 49.

by wooden rollers, was easily made to move. In this manner, at midday, it had reached the brow of the hill above the old port; whence the descent toward the shore, although among ruins, and obstructed by large stones, was more easy.

New difficulties now occurred. It was found that the water near to the shore was too shallow to admit the approach of the boat from *Salamis*, for the conveyance of the statue on board; and the old quay of *Eleusis*, which consisted of immense blocks of marble stretching out into deeper water, was in such a ruined state, that several wide chasms appeared, through which the water flowed. Across these chasms it would be necessary to construct temporary bridges, for which timber would be required; and even then the boat could not be brought close enough to the extremity of the quay to receive the statue. Here the whole of our project seemed likely to meet with its termination; for it was quite impossible, without any mechanical aid, to raise a mass of marble weighing nearly two tons, so as to convey it into the boat. At this critical moment, when we were preparing to abandon the undertaking, a large *Casiot* vessel made her appearance, sailing between Salamis and the Eleusinian coast. We instantly pushed off in the boat, and hailed her; and the captain consenting to come on shore, we not only hired his ship to take the statue to Smyrna, but also engaged the assistance of his crew, with their boats and rigging, to assist in its removal. These men worked with spirit and skill; and made the rest of the operation a mere amusement. At sunset we saw the statue stationed at the very utmost extremity of the pier-head.

Early on the following day, November the twenty-third, two boats belonging to the vessel, and the *Salamis* ferry boat, were placed alongside of each other, between the ship and the pier; and planks were laid across, so as to form a kind of stage, upon which the Casiot sailors might work the blocks and ropes. A small cable was also warped round the statue; and twelve blocks being brought to act all at once upon it, the goddess was raised almost to the yard-arm; whence, after remaining suspended a short time, she was lowered into the hold; and the *Eleusinians* taking leave of her,* the vessel sailed for Smyrna. Having thus ended the narrative of our

* They predicted the wreck of the ship which should convey it: and it is a curious circumstance, that their augury was completely fulfilled, in the loss of the Princessa merchantman, off Beachy Head, having the statue on board.

adventure, we may now conclude our observations concerning the ruins of *Eleusis*. These have been since surveyed with so much attention by other travellers, that we shall merely state such things as may perhaps have escaped their notice.

It has been supposed, that the "*long walls*" of *Athens*, which extended from the *Acropolis* to the sea, and enclosed the *Piræeus*, were a peculiar feature of the *Athenian city*: but this is by no means true. Such a method of connecting the harbours with the citadels of Greece, was a very general characteristic of the manners of Grecian people, in all places where the *Acropolis* was not actually situated upon the shore. This, for example, was the case at *Corinth*: it may also be remarked at *Megara*, and at *Eleusis*. The Acropolis of *Eleusis* is half a mile distant from the harbour. Between the base of the hill upon which the citadel stood, and the sea, this distance is occupied by a small plain; and from the number of ruined foundations, the vestiges of temples, and of other *Hiera*, all over this plain toward the sea, we were inclined to differ from *Wheler*, and from every other traveller, by considering this piece of land as the identical spot called RHARIUM; where, according to the ancient traditions of *Eleusis*, corn was first sown. The severe illnes with which *Triptolemus* was afflicted, and from which he was restored to health by *Ceres*, is still liable to attack all who expose themselves to the *malaria* now covering this part of the Eleusinian territory: and the evil might again be removed, as it then was, by subjecting the same spot once more to the labours of agriculture; carefully cleansing and draining the soil. This being the *Rharian plain*; the *great plain* of *Eleusis*, upon the other side of the *Acropolis*, toward the west, is consequently the *Thriasian*. The *Rharian plain* being small, and between the citadel and the sea, was in all probability occupied, in ancient times, by the city of *Eleusis*, and by many of its sacred buildings. The remains of the *two long walls*, which extended from the citadel to the sea, and enclosed the port, are yet visible; and within this enclosure were, perhaps, the *temples* of *Triptolemus* and of *Neptune*.* The *area* and *altar* of *Triptolemus* were undoubtedly within the *Rharian plain*.† The temple of *Diana Propylæa* was, of course, as its name implies, the *Holy Gate* of the cita-

* Vid. Pausaniæ Attic. c. 38. pp. 92, 93. ed. *Kuhnii*.

† Τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥαρίου, κ. τ. λ. Ἐνταῦθα Ἅλως καλουμένη ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ, καὶ ΒΩΜΟΣ δείκνυται. Ibid. p. 93.

del; and probably it stood upon or near to the spot which is now occupied by a small church or chapel upon the brow of the hill. That of *Ceres*, built during the administration of *Pericles*, by *Ictinus* the architect of the *Parthenon* at *Athens*, and mentioned by *Plutarch*,* by *Strabo*,† and by *Vitruvius*,‡ was, perhaps, destroyed before the invasion of *Alaric*, at the end of the *fourth* century; and even before the time of *Pausanias* in the *second*; as it is not mentioned by him. But as *Phidias* presided over all the artists employed to complete it,§ and the marble of *Mount Pentelicus* was employed in its construction, it is easily to be recognised in those ruins among which the statue was discovered; an *area* or pavement, leading to it, being of *Pentelican* marble, and still existing, at the commencement of the *Thriasian plain*, upon the western side of the *Acropolis*. The ancient port of *Eleusis* was entirely artificial; being enclosed by a semicircular pier of white marble. Going to this port from the modern village (which does not contain forty houses,) along the remains of the northern wall, you come to the ruins of another large temple, consisting of prodigious masses of stone and marble. Here, then, was one of the temples before mentioned; perhaps that of *Neptune*, being so near to the port. At a distance to the right, in what we have considered as the *Rharian plain*, is another considerable ruin, a part whereof is yet standing; and the foundations of other structures may be discerned. All this plain between the *Acropolis* and the sea, is covered with the fragments of former works; and upon this side was the *theatre*; the form of which may be distinctly traced upon the slope of the hill, near the southern wall leading to the sea. Upon the summit of the *Acropolis* are the vestiges of the citadel; also some excavations, which were once used as *cisterns*, similar to those of other cities in the *Peloponnesus*. Looking down upon the great *Thriasian plain* from the top of this rock (whose shape is an oblong parallelogram, lying nearly parallel to the shore,) the back of the spectator being toward the sea, the remains of the TEMPLE OF CERES appear at the foot of the north-west angle; and to the left of this, in the road to *Megara*, exactly as it is described by *Pausanias*, in

* Plutarch. in Pericl. vol. I. p. 159.
† Strabon. Geog. lib. ix.
‡ Vitruv. in Præfat.
§ Πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ. Plutarch. in Pericl.

the very beginning of the route, is the *well* called by him* ἄνθινον; close to the foundation of some *Hieron* or *temple*. A little farther toward the left lies the *colossal marble Torso* of a *lion*, or of a *sphinx*, which was before noticed in our arrival at *Eleusis* from *Megara*.

Having thus amply gratified our curiosity with regard to the remains of this remarkable city, and accomplished the object of our wishes by the removal of the *statue of Ceres*, we returned in high spirits to *Athens*, to prepare for a journey through BŒOTIA, PHOCIS, THESSALY, PIERIA, MACEDONIA, and THRACE, to *Constantinople*.

* Ἑτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος πρὸς Μέγαρα ἄγει. Ταύτην ἐρχομένοις πρὸν ὁδὸν, φρέαρ ἐστὶν ἄνθινον καλούμενον. Pausan. Attica, c. 39. p. 94. ed. *Kuhnii*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO THE

SECOND SECTION OF PART THE SECOND.

PAGE, 2 line 37. vol. 3. "*Although his death did not immediately follow.*"]—He was afterwards visited by *colonel Squire*, in company with *major Leake* of the Artillery, and *Mr. Hamilton*. The last of these gentlemen, it seems, as private secretary of the earl of Elgin, had some diplomatic arrangements to make with *Djezzar*, and wished to gain information with respect to the commerce and condition of Syria. The circumstances are related in *colonel Squire's MS. Journal*. The party sailed from *Alexandria* on Monday, April the 5th, 1802; and came to anchor off the town of Caiffa on the morning of April the 9th. This part of *colonel Squire's Journal* is too interesting to be omitted, although the author did not receive it until many sheets of this section of his work had been printed. For the present edition, therefore, it has been inserted immediately after the *additional notes*. It begins with their visit to the *Sheik* of Caiffa.

P. 5. l. 27. v. 3. "*As at that time the model of every Christian sanctuary was derived from the Holy Land, and generally from the church of the Holy Sepulchre: where the pointed style may yet be discerned in the original covering of the sepulchre itself.*"]—The curious work of Bernardino. "*Trattato delle Piante et Immagini de sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa,*" published at Florence in 1620, gives the rules and exact dimensions for the construction of sanctuaries after the model of the *Holy Sepulchre*, which, at the time of Bernardino's visit to Jerusalem, was entirely surrounded with pointed arches. The pointed arches of the *Mikias*, in the *Isle of Rhouda*, near *Cairo*, are of the ninth century, as will be proved in a subsequent note. Many other instances might be adduced to prove that the *pointed style* in architecture existed in all the oldest Saracenic structures; but the eastern origin of the *pointed arch* has been so satisfactorily demonstrated by WHITTINGTON, (*Hist. Surv. of Ecclesiast. Antiq. &c.*) by HAGGITT, (*Lett. on Gothic Architect.*) by KERRICH, (*Observ. on the churches of Italy, Archæol.* vol. XVI.) and by HAWKINS, (*Hist. of the Orig. &c. of Gothic Architecture,*) that an obstinate denial of *the fact* is merely the struggle of ignorance against the acknowledgment of error.

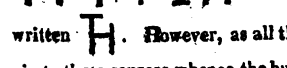
P. 20. l. 26. v. 3. "*A basket lined perhaps with close matting, or leather.*"]—Those baskets are made capable of containing water without lining. "The Mahrea Arabs have the art of making wicker baskets of so close a texture, that they carry in them, milk, water, and bouza." *See note to* p. 189 *of Browne's travels, Lond.* 1799.

P. 37. l. 14. v. 3. "*At this hour we often resorted to the Isle of Rhouda.*"]—The author omitted to notice the visit he made to the *Mikias*, or *Nilometer*, upon this island, in company with Mr. Hammer. As the interior of this building was long concealed from the observation of Europeans, it may be proper to mention, that the roof is supported by *pointed arches* erected early in the ninth century. Mr. Hammer copied some *Cuphic* inscriptions upon the

walls, stating, that the building was constructed by the Caliph *Al-Mamoun*, in the year 211 of the Hégira, answering to the year 833 of our æra. The same fact is attested by the observations of Le Pere, as read to the French Institute at *Caïre*, January the 11th, 1799. *(Voy. Decade Egyptienne*, tom. II. p. 278. *au Keïre, An* VIII *de la République.)* For the rest, the building has been recently so often described, that it was not thought necessary to give a particular account of it.

P. 96. l. 5. v. 3. "*This has been often related before.*"]—Diodorus, particularly, alludes to the same thing. "But this work," says he, "is not only worthy of praise on account of its magnitude, but wonderful for the skill displayed, and remarkable for the nature of the stone; since that in so much vastness there was not a fissure nor a blemish visible." Τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο μὴ μόνον εἶναι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θαυμαστόν, καὶ τῇ τοῦ λίθου φύσει διάφορον, ὡς ἂν ἐν τηλικούτῳ μεγέθει μήτε διαφυάδος μήτε κηλίδος μηδεμιᾶς θεωρουμένης. Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 47. p. 37. ed. *Wesselingii. Amst.* 1746.

P. 97. l. 41. v. 3. "*As to the age of this inscription, the reader must determine for himself.*]—At the same time it may be proper to add, that it bears the characteristic of a high antiquity in the manner of applying the writing. There is a passage in the book of Deuteronomy which proves that the custom of writing upon plaister existed in the fifteenth century before the christian æra. The Israelites are thus instructed to write the law; and it is very probable that Moses had learned the art from the Egyptians. "THOU SHALT SET THEE UP GREAT STONES, AND PLAISTER THEM WITH PLAISTER: AND THOU SHALT WRITE UPON THEM ALL THE WORDS OF THE LAW. *Deut.* xxvii. 2, 3.

P. 153. l. 25. v. 3. "*From the time of Ruffinus, of Socrates, and of Sozomen, this type has occasionally exercised the ingenuity and the erudition of the most learned scholars.*"]—It is the jewel of the *Royal Arch* among Freemasons, and is expressed in this manner, a sign consisting of three *Taus* joined by their feet at right angles; thus completing the monogram of *Thoth*, or *Tautt*, the symbolical and mystic name of *hidden wisdom* and of the Supreme Being among ancient Egyptians; the ΘΕΟΣ of the Greeks. "Numen illud," says Jablonski, (*Panth. Ægypt*, tom. III. p. 170. *Francof.* 1752.) "erat ipse *Phthas*, Vulcanus Ægyptiorum, Spiritus infinitus, RERUM OMNIUM CREATOR ET CONSERVATOR, ipsorumque Deorum pater ac princeps." It is amusing to trace the various modifications by which this type of *hidden wisdom* is expressed. Sometimes, as the sun in the lower hemisphere, (*See Jablonski*, tom. I. p. 236.) it appears in hieroglyphic writing under this sign, . At other times it was written ⊙, and hence we see clearly what is meant by an ancient patera with a knob in the bottom of it. Its other principal varieties were,  Upon Greek medals we find the last monogram written . However, as all the sacred mysteries seem to owe their origin to those sources whence the human race derived the means of subsistence the following remarks of the Bishop of Clogher may, with reference to an instrument in agriculture, simply explain all that was intended by the earliest representations of this symbol. "As to the *Crux ansata*, (says he) which hath so much puzzled the learned world, &c. it is no more than a *setting stick* for planting roots and larger seeds." *See origin of Hieroglyphics*, p. 121. *Lond.* 1753.

P. 176. l. 23. v. 3. "*The epithet* Διος *was consequently appropriate.*"]—The Bishop of Clogher, in his essay on the "*origin of Hieroglyphics, and on the Heathen Mythology*," p. 116. *Lond.* 1753, has the following observation. "In

Greek, the word Δῖος signifies the same as the word *Divus* among the Latins; that is, *a divine person.*"

P. 13. l. 27. v. 4. "*An ancient and memorable law,*" &c.]—The same law is in Ælian, lib. iii. cap. 37.

P. 19. l. 26. v. 4. "*We found fifteen columns yet standing.*"]—The Sunian temple has been recently visited by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, chaplain to the British factory at Smyrna. This gentleman has communicated the following notices concerning it, in a letter to the author:

"There are now standing, on the *south-east* side,	.	9 columns.
On the *north* side	.	3
On the *north-west* side	.	3
Total .	.	15
"Length of the temple from N. W. to S. E. .	.	72 feet
Breadth	.	45
Height of columns from base to cornice .	.	23
Distance of columns from centre to centre	.	8
Circumference at two feet from base .	.	9 10 1-4 inches."

The same gentleman has transmitted to the author the following beautiful inscription, recently discovered in *Samos*. It relates to a woman of the name of Tyrinna, who died at the age of twenty-seven.

Ἡ γενεῇ δοξῇ τε καὶ ἐν μούσῃσι Τύρίννα
Ἔξοχος, ἡ πάσης ἄκρα φέρουσ' ἀρέτης,
Ἐννέάλας τρισσὰς ἑτέων ζήσασα, τοκεῦσιν
Δυστήνοις ἔλιπον δάκρυα καὶ στοναχάς.
Πᾶς γὰρ, ἐμῷ φθιμένης, χῆρος δόμος εὖτε γὰρ αὐτὴ
Λείπομαι, οὔτ' ἔλιπον βλαστὸν ἀποιχομένη.
Ἀντὶ δὲ πατρῴου καὶ ὑλοφόροιο μελάθρου,
Λεπτὴ τοὐμὸν ἔχει σῶμα λαχοῦσα πέτρη.
Εἰ δ' ἦν εὐσεβέων ὅσιος λόγος, οὔποτ' ἂν οἶκος
Οὐ 'μὸς, ἐμοῦ φθιμένης, ταῖσδ' ἐνέχυσε τύχαις.

P. 33. l. 6. of Note (*) v. 4. "*For the purest Greek is not spoken at Athens.*"]—The greatest proof, perhaps, of plagiarism that can be adduced, is one of this nature; showing, that even the *errors* of an author have been transcribed. If either Wheler or his companion had given themselves the trouble to consult the authors cited by *Meursius*, they would have found the very opposite of their assertion expressly stated; that of above seventy dialects now remaining in Modern Greece, the Athenian, instead of being the *purest*, is the most *corrupted*, and the *worst*. Περὶ δὲ τῶν διαλέκτων, τί ἂν καὶ εἴποιμι, πολλῶν οὐσῶν, καὶ διαφόρων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα; τούτων δ' ἀπαζῶν, ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων χειρίστη. (*Vid. Epist. Sim. Cabasilæ, ad Mart. Crus. script. anno* 1578. And *Theodosius Zygomalas*, in his letter to the same person, says, speaking of the Greek language in Athens, Ἡωλίων δὲ βάρβαρος, ἴσιν ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἥ τις ἦν ἔτι ὑπῆρχεν, ἀρίστη· ἂν τις εἰ εἴη καταδιάμετρον. τῇ πάλαι, οὐχ ἂν ἁμάρτοι. *Meursii Fortuna Attica*, p. 113. *L. Bat.* 1622.

P. 47. l. 26. v. 4. "*The hat was intended as a distinguishing token.*"]—It is still so considered at Athens. Guilletiere, in giving an account of the *Vecchiados* or *Elders*, selected out of the principal Christian families, forming a part of the jurisdiction of the city, says they are distinguished from the other citizens by wearing "*little hats.*" These are his words.—"*Les Vecchiados portent ne petits chapeaux, pour les destinguer des autres habitans.*" Voyage d'Athénes, p. 159. *Paris*, 1675.

P. 51. l. 13. v. 4. "*The most admirable specimens of the art of sculpture.*"—Mr. Cripps has preserved, in his MS. Journal, a note, dictated by Lusieri, relative to a very curious discovery made by that artist with regard to the sculptured ornaments of the *erectheum*. The author also well remembers its being pointed out to him by the same person upon the spot. Lusieri found among the most delicate intertexture of the wreaths and foliage, small brass nails, and bits of antique glass, which had been fastened on to heighten the general delicacy and exquisite finishing of the work. This circumstance has been noticed by no other traveller. Perhaps, according to our notions of taste, as founded upon the Grecian school, these works appear more beautiful in their present nakedness than they would have done if we had beheld them as they were originally finished, when they were painted and gilded, and studded with glass beads, or invested with other extraneous ornament.

P. 57. l. 21. v. 4. "*By the word* Theatre *the Ancients intended the whole body of the edifice,*" &c.]—Plutarch considers Θέατρον to be derived from Θεός; because, before theatres were built, the *Chorus* rang the praises of their gods, and the commendation of illustrious men.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extract from Colonel Squire's MS. Journal; giving an account of Caiffa, Acre, &c. and of his interviews with Djezzar Pasha.

"At noon (*April* 9th, 1802,) we went on shore, and endeavoured to see the Sheïk (*governor*) of *Caiffa*. At this moment we could not see him: for the day (*Friday*) being the Mahometan Sabbath, he was engaged at the mosque. In the interval we proposed to make a small tour without the town; but we were told that the gates were then shut, and that they would not be opened until the prayers at the mosque were ended; this, as it appears, is a custom in many parts of the east: for they fear that while the Musselmen are engaged in the duties of their religion, the Christians may enter secretly and take the place by surprise: indeed, they have a tradition to this effect. After the noon prayer was concluded, we had an audience of the Sheïk in a miserable smoked chamber; the key of which, after a great search and inquiry, was with some difficulty procured. He regaled us with coffee; and as there was only one extra pipe for the accommodation of his guests, it was passed from one person to another; and we smoked alternately. During our conference, an unfortunate *swallow* which had taken up its abode in the Sheïk's mansion was constantly hovering over our heads.* In the course of conversation, the Sheïk observed, that he was born near *England*, as he was a native of *Algiers*: he alluded to our fortress of Gibraltar; for the

* For the universality of the superstition with regard to the *swallow*, the reader is referred to part I. of these travels; also to v. 149, of the *Electra* of *Sophocles*, where the same bird is called Διὸς ἄγγελος. See the end of chap. xvi. of this volume.

Turks consider all our foreign possessions as *England*. Ismael Pasha, a respectable Turk, declared that he had been in England; because he had once visited Gibraltar. After coffee and pipes, we proceeded toward *Mount Carmel*. This mountain, which may perhaps be two hundred feet above the level of the sea, is covered with a variety of shrubs and aromatic plants, which may render the air as wholesome as it is fragrant and agreeable; the ascent was by a slope; and this, although now covered with weeds and brambles, appears to have been formerly a regular road to the convent on its summit. In the beginning of the ascent, we observed a sort of grotto excavated in the rock. On the point immediately above the sea, are the remains of a well-built monastery, which, since the appearance of the French in these countries, has been entirely destroyed by the Turks. Below this there is a smaller convent. It is inhabited by a Turk, and its church has been converted into a mosque; it is excavated from out of the solid rock; being about fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide, and twenty feet in height. On our return to *Caiffa* along the sea-shore, at the foot of the mountain, we observed a range of catacombs in the rock, which had probably been the burying place of an ancient town in the neighbourhood: on the floor of these catacombs were cavities for the reception of bodies. Near this place is a tower of masonry, with five embrasures in the lower part for the defence of the anchorage: at present, no guns are mounted there.

"*Caiffa* itself is a miserable village, close to the sea-side, and opposite to Acre: it is of an oblong figure; its longest side, parallel to the sea, being about two hundred yards; and its shortest, one hundred and fifty yards in length. It is completely inclosed by a stone wall about fifteen feet high, with square towers at the angles. On a small eminence immediately above the town, and completely commanding it, is a square tower, which, as well as the towers of *Caiffa* itself, has been dismantled of its guns by the Pasha of Acre, since the arrival of the French in Syria. From the summit of *Mount Carmel* the view of the *Bay of Caiffa* was picturesque in the extreme. On the opposite side was *Acre;* and beyond, the towering heights of the *Anti-Lebanon*, with a small chain of mountains intervening, which seemed to retire and lose themselves in the interior of the country. Bordering on the bay appeared an extensive plain, with the river

Kishon meandering through the middle of it. From the roof of the convent on the summit of Mount Carmel, Acre bore N. E. by N. distant seven miles; *Mount Saphet*, E. and by N. distant fifteen miles; a town on a projecting point on the coast, S. S. W. distant four miles. Mount Carmel consists of hard limestone, varied sometimes by thin strata of flint.

On the 12th of April, colonel Squire sailed from *Caiffa* for *Acre*. His journal then continues.

"Wind E. S. E. light breezes. At half past six A. M. weigh anchor; and at half past seven, bring to at the entrance of the harbour of ACRE. A boat came from the town, which undertook to bring the vessel into the harbour. Our pilot, it appeared, was a sort of harbour master, and has constantly twenty men employed for his assistance. As soon as the vessel was moored, the captain of the port stripped himself, made a dive under the vessel's bottom, and told us there were four feet of water between the keel and the anchoring ground. The man was extremely old; and we were surprised at his activity and attention; however, upon inquiry, he said, that he obeyed the orders of Djezzar, who would immediately take off his head should an accident happen to any ships moored in the harbour of Acre. After a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by Djezzar's batteries, we landed, with a view to pay our compliments to the Pasha. Djezzar was sitting in a small apartment at the farther extremity of a court in the upper floor of the seraglio. The court was planted with orange and lemon trees, and other shrubs; and one side was occupied by the charem.

"Djezzar received us in a very gracious manner, saying, that he had always loved the English because they were a brave nation; and seemed to insinuate that his friendship was perfectly disinterested; that he was independent of all; that he had plenty of guns and troops of his own; in short, that he was able to defend himself without the assistance of others. When we inquired with respect to the march of the vizier through Syria, and his return from Egypt to Constantinople, he replied: 'I know not which way he is gone; they say he is now at Damascus; he will scarcely leave a beard or mustachio in any town that he passes through. When he was at Caïro, he desired me to send timber for his army; my reply was, *I am not a seller of wood.*'

So that Djezzar fully explained his situation and his politics; continually launching forth in his own praises; at the same time that he abused the vizier and his creatures. 'The vizier (*said he*) has rich dresses and precious ornaments in abundance; but he carries all his wealth on his person. I am a Bosniac, a rough, unpolished soldier, not accustomed to courts and politeness, but bred in camps and in the field. I have no handsome pelisses nor fine shawls; my troops, however, are well paid, and numerous. I am expert (*added he*) in the management of a sabre; with a single stroke of my sword, I have cut in two the barrel of a musket.'

"Djezzar sat in the upper corner of the apartment: close to his hand was a four-barrelled pistol, very richly mounted; behind him were two muskets, a sabre, and an axe; a silver spitting cup was in his left hand; and in another part of the room, a drinking mug of wood, made by himself, and always kept in the apartment; the ceiling was ornamented with landscape painting of his own invention. The divân (the part raised a few inches above the floor) was covered with a thin common carpet; the other part of the chamber with a mat. Djezzar leans on a low crutch, placed under his right arm, which he said he had always used instead of the fine downy cushions of the rich and indolent. He was dressed in an old darned pelisse, with blue cloth trowsers in the Turkish style, and a red shawl on his head as a turban. He remarked, that he was sleeping when we fired our salute; that he had been rather unwell; that the report of the guns awoke him, and that the grateful sound had revived him from his indisposition.

"Djezzar may be between seventy and eighty years of age; he has lost the greater part of his teeth, has a respectable gray beard, and a prominent nose; and though when he smiles he may impose upon one the appearance of good nature, the ordinary cast of his countenance, with his wrinkled brow, sufficiently denotes his well-known familiarity with conspiracies and assassination. After taking our leave we visited the fortifications of *Acre*, toward the land, with the dragoman of Djezzar; who pointed out to us the position of the French camp, and the different points against which the attack was directed. The camp was in the plain, about two miles south-east from the town, extending itself, from the sea, as far as the remains of a church near the

aqueduct which once conveyed water to *Acre*. Part of this building was destroyed by Bonaparte: that part which was near the town has been levelled by Djezzar since the departure of the French, that he might render the defences of his works as open and clear as possible. With the same view he has levelled most of the trees in the neighbourhood. [*N. B. Here Col. Squire enters into a very detailed account of the fortifications of Acre.*]

"The mosque, built by Djezzar about fifteen years ago, has a large dome, and both outside and within is very richly ornamented. We observed in the walls large pieces of verd-antique, and specimens of many different kinds of marble: the ornaments within are light, and painted in very gay colours; the whole building has more the appearance of a fine theatre, than a place for devotion. We were not permitted to ascend the minaret; here it is the office of a blind person to call the people to prayers, that there may be no opportunity from this elevated situation to observe the women in the pasha's charem. Before being admitted into the mosque, we were obliged to purchase thin slippers, and wear them as a mark of respect, leaving our boots at the entrance. The court of the mosque, in the centre of which is a neat fountain, and a small plantation of palm and cypress trees, is surrounded by a sort of cloister, and small apartments, in which are deposited the books of Djezzar. These also serve as lodging places for the chief people of the law. Under the mosque is a large reservoir for water; and we were informed, that, at present, a ten years' supply of water for the town is collected in the different cisterns. Without the gate of the mosque, and opposite to the entrance of the seraglio, is a handsome fountain, with basins of white marble, and furnished with drinking cups, very convenient for the inhabitants. Since the campaign of the French in Syria, the fortifications of *Acre* have been repaired, and considerably increased: those which have been added are much more substantial than the old; the masonry, though not finely wrought, is solid and well executed; the stones which compose it are taken from the walls and foundations of the ancient *Ptolemaïs*. The whole of the ramparts are surmounted with a sort of battlement, which Djezzar told us was very useful when the enemy mounted to the assault: for these stones, being loosened, were tumbled down upon the French, and occasioned very great confusion. When the French

besieged *Acre*, their attack was directed on the *Bourge Ali*, at the north-east angle; and the besiegers took advantage of irregularities in the ground, of the garden walls, and of a small ravine, and more particularly of the remains of an aqueduct which once conveyed water to Acre. Djezzar, profiting by this experience, has entirely levelled the aqueduct near the town, and is determined that, for the future, the enemy shall not have the smallest shelter.

"The bay of *Acre*, or *Caiffa*, is seven miles in width, and perhaps a league and an half in length: the sweep is nearly semicircular: the soundings in general ten or eleven fathoms; and the holding ground near the village *Caiffa*, on the south side, excellent.

"A low sandy ridge, projecting from the south point of the bay, forms a secure road-stead abreast of *Caiffa*, and is always preferred. Two small streams discharge themselves into the bay of *Acre*: one about a mile east of *Caiffa*, supposed to be the *Kishon* of the sacred scripture: a second, called the *river of Acre*, discharges itself into the sea, perhaps a mile and a half from the town. This stream is shallow, inconsiderable, and frequently changes its direction. The beach of the bay does not seem convenient for landing, being much exposed to the westerly winds, flat and shallow, with a continual surf.

"April the 13th. Soon after breakfast we visited Djezzar, who was very talkative, and showed us several specimens of his ingenuity: he cut out, in our presence, a gun in paper, with a pair of scissars; told us he was a great adept at this art, and would let us see his performances: these consisted of vases and flowers, very neatly cut, and adorned with different inscriptions from the Koran, and had been further decorated by a painter in the town; he also showed us the model of a powder-mill to be worked by horses, of his own invention. When we made him a compliment on the gallant defence of *Acre*, by himself and sir Sidney Smith,—'Ah! (*replied he*) all events are from God. Fate has always favoured Djezzar; and confident in my own strength and means, I never feared Buonaparte. Nor do I care for the Vizier: when he marched through this part of Syria, he did not dare to approach *Acre*; for he knew I was well able to receive him.'

"After having taken our leave, we wished to visit the fortifications toward the sea: we were however told, that it

would be better to walk without the town; for Djezzar could not be responsible for our safety within, as it was the time of a festival (the *Hourban Beiram*, the sacrifice of lambs,) during which the soldiers fire their pistols continually (always with ball,) and perhaps some accident might befal us. Mr. Hamilton returned to Djezzar, to make some diplomatic arrangements; while Major Leake and myself took a walk on the north side of the fortifications.

"Djezzar's dragoman (Bertocini, a Genoese) informed us, that thirteen years ago, on account of a suspected conspiracy between his Mamaluke slaves and his Georgian and Circassian women, he put them all to death, eleven females, by throwing them alive into a well, and thus leaving them to expire: he also mutilated a vast number of them, by cutting off their noses, who had had the smallest communication with the Mamalukes. It is supposed that Djezzar has thirteen women in his charem: their dresses being made in the town, and a billet being sent to the workmen for a dress for such a particular number.

"At four P. M. we re-embarked.

"April the 14th. After breakfast we visited Djezzar. We brought with us a packet, which we requested him to forward by a courier to Aleppo. 'Am I, (said he, in a violent rage) the *Sais Bashi* (chief of the Couriers.) Your conduct is very extraordinary: the first day you visit me as a friend;—you make me no present. You suspected my friendship from the first. Instead of coming directly to *Acre* why did you anchor at *Caiffa?*' [We were prevented by the weather; and our pilot's entire ignorance of the harbour.] On the second visit you desire to see the plans of my fortifications; and while the two others go without, and examine my fortifications, you (*addressing himself to Mr. Hamilton*) remain with me, open the object of your mission, and wish me to make peace with the Druzes; a subject I cannot bear to advert to.' Mr. Hamilton attempted an explanation; and told him that the simple subject of his inquiry was, whether sir Sidney Smith had interfered in the affair of the Druzes, or not;—that lord Elgin was extremely sorry to have heard a report of that nature;—that the conduct of those persons who had communicated with the enemies of Djezzar should be strictly inquired into: and he concluded by observing, that he hoped Djezzar would receive an English consul at Acre. This, indeed, was the subject of the conversation of

yesterday. Djezzar has mistaken the whole: like a true tyrant, always filled with jealousy and suspicion, he imagined that we were emissaries from the English, and wished to re-establish the affairs of the Druzes. He would hearken to no explanation; but entertained suspicions which we saw it would be wholly impossible to erase. The *Emir Bechir* (prince) of the Druzes, who governs the mountains (of the Lebanon) inhabited by this people and the Maronites, is continually at war with Djezzar, and has refused the contributions annually levied in the mountains. Djezzar retains two nephews of the Emir in his seraglio, as hostages, in case any act of hostility should be shown by the prince of the mountains. When the French were before Acre, they attempted to bring over the Druzes and Maronites to their alliance. sir Sidney Smith, gaining intelligence of this, very prudently despatched emissaries to counteract the French intrigue in the mountains; and made ample promises of his frendship and protection to the Druzes. This people had always been the declared enemies of Djezzar; and the short-sighted policy of the tyrant made him most inveterate against sir Sidney and the English, on account of their correspondence in the mountains.

"'I can (*added Djezzar*) let the English know that I am as powerful in my enmities, as I am faithful and sincere in my friendships. Am I to be dictated to? I, who have held the sword over the heads of the Beys, shall I lower it, and be humbled by the English? No, (*exclaimed he,*) I can withstand them all. I will have no communication with the English. I will have no consul of that nation; not one of their ships shall come into my harbour; they shall not approach within gun-shot of my fortifications.' Mr. Hamilton still attempted to explain: and at last, Djezzar went so far as to say, that it was not with sir Sidney Smith that he was offended; that it was with a Mr. Wright lieutenant of the Tigre, and the vice consul of Tripoli, a Frenchman, whom he considered the cause of the breach between him (Djezzar) and sir Sidney. Mr. Wright (*continued he*) and the other had been to visit the chiefs of the Druzes; had made arrangements with them, and had even returned with some of the princes to *Acre;* and sir Sidney ought certainly to have prevented this communication: however, (*said he*) I am not offended with him.' In short, in his extreme anger, he frequently contradicted himself. Leake and myself smiled upon

some observations between ourselves. Djezzar became furious. 'I, who have been a Pasha of three tails these five years; I, (*said he*) who have defeated twelve thousand Druzes with twenty horsemen, am I to be insulted in this manner?—I am speaking seriously. Am I to be laughed at and derided?—I am an old man: you are children: look at my beard.—I am choleric; I know not what may be the consequences! Had I not been in my own house, I should instantly have bursted forth and died with indignation! I am now in such a rage, and have talked so much, that I can neither see nor distinguish any of you!' His mouth, at different times, was so parched with anger and exertion, that he took large draughts of water, and remarked, that he had never drank so much water in his life. After a violent conversation of two hours, in which the cruelty, the tyranny, the ingratitude of this monster were displayed in their blackest colours, we took our departure; telling him, that we would repeat our visit in the evening.

"In the course of this morning's interview, he told us, that he was a just man, and fond of order and regularity. 'If my soldiers touch me, or have the appearance of offering the smallest insult, I immediately order them to be beheaded. If a man insults a woman, his punishment is the same. If I desire a man to sit down in my presence, and I go out of the apartment, and he quits his seat before my return, the loss of his head is the consequence.'

"In the afternoon, we again landed with an intention to visit the Pasha; but we were told by the Dragoman, that he had gone into his Charem, and would not be visible this evening: we therefore returned to the ship.

"April, 15th. After breakfast we went ashore, with an intention to visit Djezzar; but we were told by his Dragoman, that he had issued orders at the gates of the Seraglio to refuse our admission. We then inquired if it were possible to hire horses, to pass by land to Tripoli: the Dragoman answered in the negative; for there would be no security for our persons. We then determined to get under weigh, and proceed to Tripoli by sea. At one P. M. we were unmoored, and got out of the bay, with a small breeze from the northward.

No. II.

On the discovery of Colonel Capper, of the existence of ancient Pagan superstitions in mount Libanus, particularly those which relate to the worship of Venus.

THE superstition discovered by colonel CAPPER can be considered as nothing less than the expiring embers of those holocausts which once blazed in honour of Sidonian Astarté.* The Venus of Libanus was called *Asthoreth*, from the number of sacrifices offered to her. Eusebius mentions this situation of her temple; it was built in the most secluded solitude of that mountain.† Constantine overthrew the temple, and, according to Augustine,‡ abolished its detestable rites; but these however, have, in some measure, survived, and remain at the present day among those wretched superstitions which degrade a multitude of human beings, to whom the Holy Scriptures have been hitherto denied. However impious and abominable these superstitions at last became, they were, in their origin, of a purer nature; having resulted solely from the veneration paid by a grateful people to the luminaries of heaven, whence they supposed all their blessings to be derived. Before the coming of the Jews into the

* Astarté, Astaroth, Ashtaroth, Asthoreth, ASTARA, (*See the inscriptions communicated to Part* I. *of these Travels, by* Charles Kelsall, esq. *from the Cimmerian Bosporus,*) ASTAR, (*whence our word* ASTER: *See* chap. X. p. 142. *Note* (‡), *of the second Volume: also Gale's Court of the Gentiles, B.* ii. c. 2.) Nothing tends more to elucidate and simplify heathen mythology, than the constantly bearing in recollection the identity of all those Pagan idols which were distinguished by these several names; (to which may be added the other less similar appellations of the same Phœnician goddess; viz. Atergatis, Juno, Isis, Hecate, Proserpine, Ceres, Diana, Europa, (*Cicer. de Natur. Deor.* lib. iii.) Venus, Urania, Dercetis, (*Ovid. Metam.* lib. iv.) and Luna. The Arabians called her *Akilat*, and still preserve their *Akiluia*. Among the Chaldeans she was called *Militta*.

† Eusebius de Laudib. Constant. Orat. et de Præp. lib. iv. cap. 7.

‡ Augustin. de Civitat. Dei. lib. iv. cap. 10.

Promised Land, it is evident, from scripture, that the worship of the *Moon** was cultivated by the original inhabitants of the country; and there cannot be pointed out a truth connected with their history more capable of demonstration, than that the DEA SYRIA who obtained, by her *ten thousand* appellations, the epithet of *Myrionymus*, with all the fabulous history of her favourite Adonis, or the *Earth*,† was, under all its modifications, but so many testimonies of this ancient worship.‡ The numerous instances of popular Pagan superstitions retained in the Greek and Roman churches have been often before noticed; these were made subservient to the propagation of a more enlightened system of faith: and as, in our reformed religion, a part of the liturgy of the Roman church has been preserved, so it may be said that certain of the external forms, and even of the prayers,§ in use among the heathens, are still retained. A Roman catholic, however, who prostrates himself before a wooden crucifix, or a member of the Greek church making the sign of the cross, will not readily admit that the figure of a cross was used, as a symbol of *resurrection from the dead*, long before the sufferings of our Savour. Like Albericus examining the writings of Abelard,‖ either of them reading such an assertion would deem it pregnant with the most noxious heresy; and

* It was from the Phœnicians and Canaanites that the Israelites learned this worship. "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven." (*Jerem.* vii. 8.) The Canaanites and Phœnicians called the moon *Ashtoreth, Astarté, Baaltis.* Lucian expressly says, that *Astarté* that is to say, the *Venus of Libanus*, or *Queen of Heaven*, was the *moon;* and Herodotus (*lib. 5.*) calls *Astarté* Ἀφροδίτη as it is said by Herodian that the Carthaginians did, who affirmed [illegible]o be the same with the *moon*. This deity was worshipped by the Philis[illegible]es in the shape of a *fish*. Lucian (*Dea Syria*) saw the image in Phœnicia; the upper [illegible]rt resembling a *woman;* the lower, a *fish*. And to this Horace has been supposed to allude in the following line:

"*Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*"

† Macrob. Satura. lib. i. cap. 21.

‡ See particularly the Harpocrates of Cuper, (p. 108. *Utrecht*, 1687.) and the figure of Isis, as engraven by him.

§ The *Ghospody Pomiluí* of the Russians, and "*Lord have mercy upon us*," as it stands in our Liturgy, was a part of the Pagan Litany. *See Young's Diss. &c. Vol.* II. *p.* 7. *Lond.* 1734.) Vossius says, that Κύριε ἐλέησον was a usual form of prayer among the Gentiles, as well as Jews. So Arrian, (*Epict.* lib. ii. *c.* 7. Τον Θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ Κύριε ἐλέησον "*Calling upon God, we pray, Lord have mercy upon us.*

‖ See that most entertaining history of the lives of Abelard and Heloise, as compiled from orginal documents by the Rev. Joseph Berrington, printed at Birmingham in 1787. The passage alluded to is in page 136, and contains a salutary lesson for bigots of every sect and denomination. Mr. Berrington's work perhaps comprises the most able survey extant, and certainly the most amusing, of the state of literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

yet, exactly after the manner in which Abelard refuted the charge of Albericus,* we have only to open a volume of one of their own fathers, to prove that this is indisputably true.† The enemies of christianity long ago endeavoured to vilify and blaspheme its rites, by pointing out a resemblance between the history of our Savour's death and resurrection, and the annual lamentations for Adonis, followed by the joy expressed for his supposed resuscitation.‡ But the fable of Adonis, although afterwards the foundation of detestable and degrading superstition, originally typified nothing more than the vicissitudes of winter and summer,§—the seeming *death* and *revival* of nature; whence a doubtful hope was occasionally excited of the soul's existence in a future state. This expectation so naturally results from the contemplation of such phenomena, that traces of it may be discerned among the most barbarous nations.‖ Some glimmering, therefore, of a brighter light, which was afterwards fully manifested in the Gospel, must naturally have occasioned indistinct traces of similitude between the heathen mythology and the christian dispensation. It was owing to such coincidence that St. Paul declared to the Athenians, "that God whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." In viewing these occasional resemblances, whether or not we be permitted to investigate their causes, the fact of their existence is indisputable. No one, duly considering the solemnities observed at *Easter* by the ancient Saxons prior to the introduction of christianity,** or viewing at this day the ceremony of the Greek church, particularly that of Moscow, when the priests are occupied in searching for the supposed body of the Messiah,†† previous to a declaration which ushers in the festivities

* See Berrington's Hist. of the lives of Abelard and Heloise, p. 137.

† Socrates Scholiasticus, lib. v cap. 17. *Camb.* 1720.—See "Greek Marbles," p. 28. The learned author of "A Historical Dissertation on Idolatrous corruptions," (Vol. II. p. 58. *Note. Lond.* 1734.) says the cross in Egyptian Hieroglyphics denoted *Life Eternal;* and that upon this extraordinary coincidence between a Pagan symbol and the instrument of our Saviour's death, many of the Gentiles were converted to Christianity. *See Ruffinus.* lib. ii. c. 29. *Sozomen. Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. c. 15.

‡ Julius Firmicus de Errore Profan. Relig. &c.

§ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 21. *L. Bat.* 1670.

‖ Beattie enables his Minstrel to derive a hope of the soul's immortality, from observing the vicissitude of the seasons:—

"Shall I be left abandon'd in the dust,
When Fate, relenting, lets the flower revive?"
Minst. xxvii. p. 16. *Edin.* 1807.

** See Gale's Court of the Gentiles, Book ii. c. 2.

†† See vol. I. of these Travels, Chap. IV. p. 37.

of a whole empire, but must call to mind the circumstance related by Gregory Nazianzen, of the manner in which popular pagan rites were made subservient to the advancement of the christian faith;* as well as the remarkable fact,† that, *on a certain night in the same season of the year, the heathens similarly laid an image in their temples, and after numbering their lamentations according to the beads upon a string, thus ended the appointed days of privation and sorrow; that then light was brought in; and the high priest delivered an expression, similar in its import, of resuscitation and deliverance from grief.* In tracing such resemblances, the celebrated Middleton, writing from Rome, observes, "we see the people worshipping, at this day, in the same temples—at the same altars,—sometimes the same images—and always with the same ceremonies—as the old Romans."

* Orat. de Vitâ Greg. Thaum. tom. III. p. 574.
† Vid. Jul. Firmic. de Errore Profan. Relig. &c.

	Lir. Sol.
Κορνηλίου Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲ εἰκόνας δίχως συγκατάβασιν . .	7 . 0
Λεξικὸν Μικρὸν . .	3 . 0
Λόγοι Ψυχωφελεῖς εἰς τὸ Σωτήριον Πάθος	1 . 10
Λεξικὸν Βλάχου χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν	24 . 0
Λόγοι Πανεγυρικοὶ, εἰς Ἐγκώμιον διαφόρων Ἁγίων . .	2 . 0
Λειτουργικὸν εἰς μῆκος καὶ χαρακτῆρα μέγαν . . .	12 . 0
Λειτουργίαι αἱ τρεῖς, Χρυσοστόμου, Βασιλείου, καὶ ἡ Προηγιασμένη μὲ Εἰκονογραφίας, εἰς πενζὶ	3 . 10
—— Ἕτεραι εἰς χαρτὸν . .	1 . 10
Μαργαρῖται τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	8 . 0
Μαρκάδας ἱστορία διὰ στίχων	0 . 6
Μηνᾶται τὰ δώδεκα, νεοτυπωθέντα μὲ προσθήκην τοῦ Τυπικοῦ, εἰς κάθε ἑορτὴν τοῦ χρόνου ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ χρησιμεύει. καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τοὺς εἱρμοὺς, καταβασίας, καὶ ἤχους, ἰσφαλμένα εἰς τοὺς πρώτους τύπους . .	144 . 0
Μηνιάτη Διδάσκαλ, νεοτυπωθεῖσαι	8 . 0
Μηνολόγιον τοῦ ἔτους 1802 .	0 . 3
Μῦθοι Αἰσώπου, εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν	0 . 15
Μυθολογικὸν ἠθικοπολιτικὸν τῆς Πυλαΐδος	6 . 0
Μωρίου Ἱστορία . . .	1 . 0
Μυθολογικὸν Ἀραβικὸν ἤτοι ἐξακολούθησις τῆς χαλεμᾶς εἰς Τόμους τέσσαρας . . .	22 . 0
Ναυτικῆς Θεωρητικο-πρακτικῆς Ἑρμηνεία, ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν τῶν Γραϊκῶν κοινὴν μεταγλοττισθεῖσα καὶ τανῦν ἔτει 1802. πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν πινάκων εἰς δύω Τόμους . . .	8 . 0
Νέος Παράδεισος, νεωστὶ τυπωμένος	8 . 0
Ξενοφῶντος τὰ σωζόμενα μὲ εἰκονογραφίας εἰς τέσσαρας Τόμους εἰς φραντζίζε χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν	44 . 0
Ὀκτώηχος καλὰ δεμένη .	1 . 2
Οἶκοι τῆς Θεοτόκου, Ἑλληνικὰ, καὶ ἁπλᾶ	0 . 10
Ὀρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία .	6 . 0
Παιδαγωγία μὲ προσθήκαις χρεσιμαις	0 . 2
—— Ἑτέρα μεγάλη μετὰ διαφόρους καλλωπισμοὺς .	0 . 10
Παιδαγωγὸς ἡ Γραμματικὴ πρακτικὴ ἐν Βιέννῃ 1800 δίχως συγκατάβασιν. . . .	10 . 0
Παρακλητικὴ νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσα, καὶ ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθεῖσα	20 . 0
Πεντηκοστάριον παρομοίως	12 . 0
Περιγραφὴ Ἱερᾶ τοῦ Σινᾶ Ὄρους, μετὰ τῆς Ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, καὶ ἑτέρων πάνυ ἀφελίμων διηγήσεων .	2 . 10
Περὶ τῆς διατριβῆς εἰς Ἐνετίαν τῶν Κωμήτων τῆς Ἄρκτου τοῦ μεγάλου Δουκὸς τῆς Ῥωσσίας	0 . 10
Πέτρα Σκανδάλου ἤτοι διασάφησις τῶν δηχονιῶν τῶν δύω Ἐκκλεσιῶν Ἀνατολικῆς καὶ Δυτικῆς, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ ἡλιοῦ Μηνιάτε	8 . 0
Πολεμικῆς Τέχνες ἑρμηνεία μετὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν στρατευμάτων τῆς μεγάλης Ῥοσσίας . .	3 . 0
Πρακτικὰ, ἤτοι Περιγραφὴ τῶν Πράξεων τῆς Διαίτης, ὁποῦ ἔγινεν εἰς Βαρσοβίαν τῆς Πολωνίας κατὰ τοὺς 1768 . .	0 . 10
Προσκυνητάριον τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ σεβασμίας Μονῆς τῆς μεγίστης ἁγίας Λαύρας, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ .	1 . 0
Σπανὸς	0 . 10
Στιχολογία, νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσα μετὰ προσθήκης τινὸς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ, τοῦ Ὄρθρου, καὶ τῆς Λειτουργίας . . .	0 . 5
Συλλειτουργικὸν μετὰ τινος νέας προσθήκης . . .	0 . 6
Συντίπα τοῦ Φιλοσόφου Ἱστορία	1 . 0
Συνταγμάτιον Νέον, περιέχον τὴν πρέπουσαν αὐτῷ Ἀκολουθίαν Παρακλητικὴν τῆς ὅλης Ἑβδομάδος. Νῦν τὸ πρῶτον τυπωθὲν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς διορθωθὲν . .	1 . 10
Συνταγμάτιον Θεολογικῆς παιδείας	16 . 0
Σύνοψις, νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσα μετὰ προσθήκης, καὶ τινων εὐχῶν ἐν τῷ τέλει	2 . 10
—— Ἑτέρα ὁμοία χρυσωμένη	3 . 10
Σειρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων εἰς τὸν Ἰοβ	10 . 0
Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν χωρὶς συγκατάβασιν	32 . 0
Τὰ ἅπαντα πρακτικὰ τῶν Τοπικῶν καὶ Οἰκουμενικῶν ἁγίων Συνόδων, εἰς Τόμους δύω .	124 . 0
Ταρίφα μὲ ταῖς Πόσταις .	0 . 15
Τετραευάγγελον εἰς χαρακτῆρα μέγαν, μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ μὲ Πίνακα τῶν ῥητῶν τῆς Παλαιᾶς, τὰ ὁποῖα εὑρίσκονται εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια καὶ Ἀποκάλυψιν	7 . 0
—— Ἕτερον εἰς χαρακτῆρα μικρὸν διὰ ἐγκόλπιον . .	7 . 0
—— Ἕτερον εἰς θήκην χρυσοῦν	10 . 0

	Lir.	Sol.
Τραγῳδίαι τοῦ Πίνδου Μετασταστίου. νῦν πρῶτον μεταφρασθεῖσαι εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον. εἰς Τόμους δύω . .	4	10
Τριῳδίον νεοτυπωθὲν . .	22	0
Χριστιανικὴ Θεολογία τοῦ Θεολογικωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Μόσκβας Πλάτωνος . .	8	0
Χρονογράφος μετὰ προσθήκης νέας τῶν Τουρκῶν Βασιλέων .	8	0
Χρηστοήθεια Ἑλληνιστὶ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς Δεσπηνίδος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν παρὰ Ἀντωνίου Βυζαντίου ἡ πάνυ ὠφελιμωτάτη πρὸς διακόσμησιν ἠθῶν τῶν Νέων . .	1	0
Χρυσωστομὴ Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου. νῦν πρῶτον μεταφρασθεῖσα	32	0
Ψαλτήριον μέγα νεοτυπωθὲν εἰς χαρακτῆρα μέγαν . .	4	10
—— Ἕτερον μικρὸν . .	1	2
—— Ἕτερον Ἐξηγητὸν τοῦ Ἀγαπίου	8	0
Ὡρολόγιον σκέτο, μετὰ διαφόρων καλλωπισμάτων . .	6	10
—— Ἕτερον χρυσομένον .	8	0
Ὡρολόγιον μέγα, τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Βλαχίας . . .	10	0
—— Ἕτερον ὅμοιον χρυσομένον	13	0

No. IV.

Temperature of the atmosphere, according to diurnal observation; with a corresponding statement of temperature in England, during the same period: the latter being extracted from a register kept in the apartments of the royal society of London, by order of the president and council.

N. B. The observations during the journey were always made at noon; those of the royal society at two P. M.; and both on the scale of Fahrenheit.

Obs. on Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Obs. in Lond. on same day.
82°	Acre, in Syria, N. lat. 32° 57′	July 17.	66°
82	Acre,	July 18.	69
83	Acre,	July 19.	77
83	Acre,	July 20.	73
82	At sea, off mount Carmel,	July 21.	79
81	At sea, N. lat. 33° 24′	July 22.	79
81	At sea, N. lat. 33 48	July 23.	72
81	At sea, N. lat. 33 40	July 24.	69
81	At sea, N. lat. 33 6	July 25.	71
81	At sea, N. lat. 31 32	July 26.	76
81	At sea, N. lat. 31 47	July 27.	72
80	At sea, N. lat. 31 59	July 28.	68
81	At sea, N. lat. 32 4	July 29.	66
81	At sea, N. lat. 32	July 30.	74
82	At sea, N. lat. 31 40	July 31.	72
81	Off the mouth of the Nile, N. lat 31 40	August 1.	74
82	Aboukir Bay,	August 2.	74
83	Aboukir Bay,	August 3.	63
83	Aboukir Bay,	August 4.	71
83	Aboukir Bay,	August 5.	68
83	Aboukir Bay,	August 6.	72
83	Aboukir Bay,	August 7.	76
83	Aboukir Bay,	August 8.	73
85	Rosetta,	August 9.	68
92	Upon the Nile, near Metubis,	August 10.	74
89	Upon the Nile, near El-Buredgiat,	August 11.	76
89	Upon the Nile, near Bulae,	August 12.	76
90	Upon the Nile, near Bulae,	August 13.	70
91	Upon the Nile, near Bulae,	August 14.	71
91	Caïro,	August 15.	73
91	Caïro,	August 16.	70
93	Caïro,	August 17.	76
92	Caïro,	August 18.	73

Obs. on Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Obs. in Lond. on same day
91°	Caïro	August 19.	74°
91	Caïro,	August 20.	79
91	Caïro,	August 21.	71
90	Desert east of the Nile,	August 22.	71
85	Pinnacle of the greater Pyramid of Djïza,	August 23.	69
91	Caïro,	August 24.	73
92	Caïro,	August 25.	71
90	Caïro,	August 26.	69
92	Caïro,	August 27.	73
87	Caïro,	August 28.	74
87	Caïro,	August 29.	76
86	Caïro,	August 30.	76
87	Caïro,	August 31.	68
89	Caïro,	September 1.	68
90	Caïro,	September 2.	66
83	Upon the Nile, near Amus,	September 3.	69
84	Upon the Nile, near Machallet,	September 4.	66
84	Rosetta,	September 5.	73
82	Rosetta,	September 6.	69
81	Rosetta,	September 7.	66
81	Aboukir Bay,	September 8.	68
81	Aboukir Bay,	September 9.	70
82	Alexandria,	September 10	66
83	Alexandria,	September 11	65
82	Alexandria,	September 12.	62
81	Alexandria,	September 13.	65
81	Alexandria,	September 14.	66
82	Alexandria,	September 15.	70
81	Alexandria,	September 16.	68
81	Alexandria,	September 17.	68
76	Aboukir Bay,	September 18.	71
76	Aboukir Bay,	September 19.	69
78	Aboukir Bay,	September 20.	67
80	Aboukir Bay,	September 21.	64
80	Aboukir Bay,	September 22.	56
78	At sea, off the mouths of the Nile,	September 23.	63
78	At sea, off the mouths of the Nile,	September 24.	61
88	At sea, N. lat. 33° 30′	September 25.	59
78	At sea, N. lat. 34 50	September 26.	61
78	At sea, N. lat. 35 55	September 27.	70
76	At sea, N. lat. 35 50	September 28.	67
74	At sea,	September 29.	69
74	At sea,	September 30.	64
72	At sea, near Rhodes,	October 1.	59
71	At sea, near Rhodes,	October 2.	65
74	At sea, near the Island Episcopia,	October 3.	65
75	At sea, near the Island Stanchio,	October 4.	61
76	Stanchio,	October 5.	61
77	Stanchio,	October 6.	57
77	Stanchio,	October 7.	58
76	Stanchio,	October 8.	58
76	At sea, near Patmos,	October 9.	61
76	At Patmos, in the port,	October 10.	65
74	At Patmos, Ditto,	October 11.	61

Obs. on Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Obs. in Lond. on same day
69°	At Patmos, in the port,	October 12.	58°
75	Ditto, smaller harbour of ditto,	October 13.	63
74	Ditto, smaller harbour of ditto,	October 14.	63
75	At sea, near Naxos,	October 15.	60
72	Island of Naxos,	October 16.	60
72	At sea, near Naxos,	October 17.	58
76	Island of Naxos,	October 18.	59
76	At sea, near Paros,	October 19.	54
76	Island of Paros,	October 20.	50
77	Parian marble quarries of Marpessus.	October 21.	45
75	Harbour of Syra,	October 22.	47
78	Harbour of Syra,	October 23.	53
75	At sea, near Zïa,	October 24.	50
74	Island of Zïa,	October 25.	53
76	Island of Zïa,	October 26.	56
80	Cape Sunium,	October 27.	56
78	Near Athens,	October 28.	49
80	Athens,	October 29.	54
66	Athens,	October 30.	59
64	Athens,	October 31.	62
60	Athens,	November 1.	60
62	Athens,	November 2.	56
48	Summit of Mount Hymettus,	November 3.	42
70	Athens,	November 4.	48
68	At sea, near Ægina,	November 5.	38
68	Epiada,	November 6.	42
67	Hieron of Æsculapius.	November 7.	40
67	Nauplia,	November 8.	47
67	Argos,	November 9.	48
62	Carvati, near Mycenæ,	November 10.	48
61	Sicyon,	November 11.	53
63	Corinth,	November 12.	48
68	Isthmus of Corinth	November 13.	44
62	*Stadium* of the ISTHMIA,	November 14.	43
64	Bath of Helen, at Cenchreæ,	November 15.	53
63	Caneta,	November 16.	55
67	Eleusis,	November 17.	54
61	Athens,	November 18.	50
60	Athens,	November 19.	42
62	Athens,	November 20.	41
61	Athens,	November 21.	44
68	Eleusis,	November 22.	41
74	Eleusis,	November 23.	37
64	Athens,	November 24.	48
60	Athens,	November 25.	46
61	Athens,	November 26.	45
65	Athens,	November 27.	36
62	Athens,	November 28.	37
68	Athens,	November 29	29
67	Athens,	November 30.	36

No. V.

Names of Places visited in the Author's Route.

N. B. *No attempt has been made upon the present occasion to state the distances because, relating principally to Sea Voyages, they are not precisely known.*

1802.
July 17. Acre.
18. Acre.
19. Acre.
20. Acre.
21. Sailed from Acre.
22. At sea.
23. At sea.
24. At sea.
25. At sea.
26. At sea.
27. At sea.
28. At sea.
29. At sea.
30. At sea.
31. At sea.
Aug. 1. Aboukir.
2. Aboukir.
3. Aboukir.
4. Aboukir.
5. Aboukir.
6. Aboukir.
7. Aboukir.
8. Voyage to the Nile.
9. Rosetta.
10. Upon the Nile.
11. Upon the Nile.*
12. Caïro.
13. Caïro.
14. Caïro.
15. Caïro.
16. Caïro.
17. Caïro.
18. Caïro.
19. Caïro.
20. Caïro.
21. Caïro.
22. Heliopolis.
23. Pyramids of Djïza.
24. Caïro.
25. Caïro.
26 Caïro.

1802.
Aug. 27. Sheik Atman, beyond Caïro.
28. Pyramids of Saccara.
29. Caïro.
30. Caïro.
31. Caïro.
Sept. 1. Caïro.
2. Bulac, upon the Nile
3. Teranié, upon the Nile.
4. Se'l Hajar—*Ruins of Saïs.*
5. Berimbal.
6. Rosetta.
7. Rosetta.
8. Aboukir.
9. Aboukir.
10. Alexandria.
11. Alexandria.
12. Alexandria.
13. Alexandria.
14. Alexandria.
15. Alexandria.
16. Alexandria.
17. Aboukir.
18. Aboukir.
19. At sea.
20. At sea.
21. At sea.
22. At sea.
23. At sea.
24. At sea.
25. At sea.
26. At sea.
27. At sea.
28. At sea.
29. At sea.
30. At sea.
Oct. 1. Off Rhodes.
2. Coast of Asia Minor.
3. Island of Episcopia.
4. Island of Stanchio.
5. Stanchio.

* A voyage of 200 miles against the whole force of the inundation in 26 hours.

1802.
Oct. 6. Stanchio.
7. Stanchio.
8. Stanchio.
9. Island Leria—Patmos.
10. Patmos.
11. Patmos.
12. Off Samos, Icaria, &c.
13. Western Port of Patmos.
14. Patmos.
15. Icaria—Naxos.
16. Naxos.
17. Naxos.
18. Naxos.
19. Paros.
20. Paros.—Antiparos.
21. Paros.
22. Syra.
23. Syra.
24. Jura.
25. Zia.
26. Zia.
27. Cape Sunium.
28. Sinus Saronicus.
29. Athens.
30. Athens.
31. Athens.
Nov. 1. Athens.
2. Athens.
3. Athens.

1802.
Nov. 4. Athens.
5. Ægina.
6. Epiada—Liguria.
7. Hieron of Æsculapius—Nauplia.
8. Nauplia.
9. Tiryns—Argos.
10. Mycenæ—Nemea.
11. Sicyon.
12. Corinth.
13. Corinth.
14. Corinth.
15. Cenchreæ—Cromyon.
16. Megara.
17. Eleusis.
18. Athens.
19. Athens.
20. Athens.
21. Athens.
22. Eleusis.
23. Eleusis.
24. Athens.
25. Athens.
26. Athens.
27. Athens.
28. Athens.
29. Athens.
30. Athens.

No. VI.

Remarks on the Libraries of Greece, by the Rev. R. WALPOLE, M. A. *with an Account of the Catalogue of Books now preserved in the Monastery of Patmos, as it was copied for the Marquis of Sligo.*

These remarks of Mr. WALPOLE *being too long to be inserted in the Notes, among the Extracts from his MS. Journal, the Author has subjoined them as an appropriate Appendix to this Section.*

THE names of *Nicholas the Fifth*, of *Francis the First*, of some of the *Medici* family, of *Bessarion Busbeck*,* and *Peiresc*, are held in just estimation by the lovers of ancient literature. By their means, the libraries of Europe have been furnished with great numbers of valuable manuscripts, collected with cost and labour, in different parts of the Levant. The first of these persons laid the foundation of the VATICAN LIBRARY, and supplied it with many manuscripts from Greece. From the same country, *Francis the First*, at the exhortation of *Budæus*, procured many also; particularly from MOUNT ATHOS. The exertions of the *Medicean* family are familiar to every one. *Bessarion*, who died in 1483, had made a collection of manuscripts at the expense of 30,000 crowns; and his own account of his exertions in the cause of Greek letters is worthy of notice.† The manuscrips purchased by *Busbeck*, during his embassy, are known to every scholar, from the account given of them by *Lambecius*. Many also were obtained in the east by those whom *Peiresc*‡ had sent out; they visited Cyprus,

* In this manner he writes his own name, always. *Lamb.* l. i. 99. & l. xi. *addit.* p. 1007.

† "Cæterùm, non tam magnum numerum librorum quàm optimos et excellentes deque singulis solummodò unum exemplum studui colligere, unde evenit, ut ferè omnia volumina quæ in ruinis universæ Græciæ remanserant integra, et quæ vix alibi reperiuntur, congesserim." *Cam. Op. Sub. Cent.* 3.

‡ In 1631. See his life by *Gassendi*.

Egypt, and Constantinople; and in the first of these places, portions of *Polybius* and *Nicolaus Damascenus* were found.*

There is no doubt that Constantinople and Athos have contributed the greatest number of the manuscripts we possess in different parts of Europe. There were monasteries full of learned men at Byzantium, to a late period; and every monastery had its library. The Turks on their conquest, did not occasion that indiscriminate destruction which idle declamation has sometimes imputed to them. *Mahomet the Second* secured the library of the Greek emperors, which was preserved by his successors, until it was destroyed by *Amurat* IV.† At Byzantium, *Constantine Lascaris* transcribed many of those works which were afterwards placed in the MADRID LIBRARY. In this city were procured those manuscripts which were left to the ESCURIAL LIBRARY by *Hurtado de Mendoza;* and which had been presented to him by *Soliman the Second. Possevin* has given partial catalogues of some of the libraries at Constantinople; and a traveller in 1597 mentions a valuable collection which he had seen in that city.‡

With respect to Athos, we find that two hundred manuscripts are deposited in one library alone,§ brought from the monasteries on the mountain; and a great part of those at Moscow‖ had been collected by the monk *Arsenius* in Athos, at the suggestion of the patriarch *Nicon.*

We must add Thessaly, Chios, Corfu, Crete, Cyprus, Chalce, (the island in the Propontis,) Rhodes, and Epidauria, as places which have supplied some manuscripts.** We should have had much valuable intelligence concerning the libraries in the monasteries of Thessaly, if the life of professor *Biornstahl* had been prolonged. He had visited all of them;

* As many manuscripts had been collected, at vast expense, in Greece for the Library at BUDA (destroyed by the Turks in 1256,) we ought not to omit mentioning it. *Alexander Brassicanus* had seen in it the whole of *Hyperides* with *Scholai*, the works of many of the Greek fathers, and of the classical writers. From this library issued parts of *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus.* A manuscript of *Heliodorus*, from which was taken the first edition of the *Æthiopics*, was found by a soldier, and brought to *Vincentius Obsopœus:* it belonged to this library. *Neander* thus speaks of the collection: "Ex mediâ Græciâ inæstimandis sumptibus emerat Matthias Corvinus rex." *Epist.* p. 10.

† Hist. d l'Acad. IV. Jortin's E. H. vol. V.

‡ G. Dousa. It. Const. 71.

§ Præf. to the Catalogue of the Coislen. Library.

‖ In the Library of the Holy Synod.

** See the following references: Diar Ital. of Montfaucon; Fabric. Bib. Gr. 7. 241; Fabrotus Not. Basilicorum; Bib. Coislen. p. 178; Crusii Turco-Græc. p. 498.

and had resided many days at Triccala, for the express purpose of copying a Greek manuscript belonging to a monastery. *Biornstahl* was attacked by a fever at the foot of Mount Olympus; here he was obliged to continue ten days, without medical assistance; and was thence taken to Salonica, where he died, in July 1779.*

Notwithstanding our acquisitions are already great, we should not intermit our researches in the Levant. Many manuscripts may be saved by them from destruction. "I myself," says Dr. *Cowell*, "have seen vast heaps of manuscripts (for I never found them on shelves, or in good order) of the fathers and other learned authors, in the monasteries at Mount Athos, and elsewhere, all covered over with dust and dirt, and many of them rotted and spoiled."† An inquiry should be made into the truth of what was stated to *Hemsterhusius* by some Greeks,‡ "that part of the comedies of *Menander* was still in existence." Application might be made to the Greek nobles of the Phanar, many of whom are versed in ancient Greek, and who are probably the possessors of some valuable manuscripts. Parts of the first book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of *Eusebius* were printed by *Fabricius*,§ from a manuscript belonging to prince *Mavrocordato;* and a copy of the Greek Orators, now in England, was the property of a Greek noble.

It may be reasonably supposed, that many manuscripts in Greece have experienced the treatment which works of the same sort have met with in other countries. *Poggius*, we are told, found, while he was at the council of Constance, a manuscript of *Quintilian* on the table of a pickling shop. *Mason* met with one of *Agobardus* in the hands of a bookbinder, who was about to use it for the back of a book:‖ and one of *Asconius* was about to be employed for the same purpose. *Musculus* found,** in the roof of a benedictine monastery, some of the works of *Cicero*, and the whole of

* From a writer of the date 1557, we have an important notice respecting a library on Mount Olympus: "Dicitur adhuc hodiè in Olympo Monte Monasterium reliquum esse thesauro optimorum librorum dives ac celebre." *Orat. de Stud. Vet. Phil. inter Melanc. Declam.*

† Villoison's account of the destruction of manuscripts at Patmos may be consulted. Proleg. to Homer.

‡ Jul. Pollux. p. 1272, note.

§ Delectus Argumentorum.

‖ Naudè, 121.

** "Accidit, ut aliquando sub ipso ædium tecto confusam dissolutarum membranarum congerism *Musculus* offenderit," &c. *M. Adamus in Vitâ Musculi.*

Ovid. Numbers of manuscripts in Greece are irrecoverably lost to us, either by design or accident; and of those, which we may hereafter meet with, we cannot suppose all will prove to be of equal value:*

Πολλοί τοι ναρθηκόφοροι, παυροὶ δέ τε βάκχοι.

Yet if we meet with only few of which we shall be able to say, as *Casaubon*† once said to *J. Scaliger*, that they are "πολυτιμητά, et verè χρυσοῦ ἀντάξια," the trouble of research will be well requited.‡

A list of Theological manuscripts in the library of PATMOS has been given by *Possevin*,§ their number amounting, according to his statement, only to fifty-five. The present catalogue, containing the titles of ninety-two manuscripts and about four hundred printed volumes, and of which an account is here subjoined, by no means precludes the necessity of further examination. The Greek compiler of it has not stated any circumstance relating to the manuscripts by which we can form an estimate of their value: he gives no information respecting the form of the letters or that of the spirits, or any of those subjects which would lead us to a knowledge of their respective dates.

There is one manuscript mentioned in it, concerning which it is impossible not to feel more than common curiosity: it is one of DIODORUS SICULUS. By an accurate inspection of it, we should learn whether the hopes, which have been more than once entertained of the existence of the lost books of that historian, are in this instance also to be disappointed.‖ *H. Stephanus* had heard that the forty books of *Diodorus* were in Sicily. This report arose probably from *Constantine Lascaris* having said in Sicily, that he had seen all these books in the Imperial library at CONSTANTINOPLE. *Lascaris* fled from this city at the capture of it by the Turks.

* Those which have an appearance of antiquity in the writing, are not always the most ancient. The monks employed persons who were copyists by profession; men who not only repaired the titles of manuscripts, but were dexterous enough to copy the ancient characters. "The manuscripts written in Lombard letters," says *Simon*. "are not always from a hand as ancient as the time of Lombard writing. The same may be said of other works."

† On receiving a manuscript of the unpublished mechanics of Athenæus.

‡ Some exertions on the part of the government would, without doubt, be attended with success. Let us hear what was done in France, so late as in the time of Fleury: "Il a envoié dans le Levant quelques savans qui en sont revenus avec une riche moisson de manuscrits ou Grecs ou d'autres langues Orientales." *Bib. Rais. Juillet*, 1739.

§ See the Appar. Sacr.

‖ Photius, in the ninth century, perused entire *Diodorus Siculus*.

In the turbulence and confusion of that period, the entire copy to which he referred might have been lost. "Deum immortalem," says *Scaliger*, "quanta jactura historiæ facta est amissione librorum illius Bibliothecæ, præsertim quinque illorum qui sequebantur post quintum."*

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS† IN THE PATMOS LIBRARY.

Aristophanes. Three copies.
Ammonius.‡ Two copies.
Aristotle. Various copies.
Apollonius Rhodius.
Exposition of John Zonarus§ on the κανονες ἀναστάσιμοι of John of Damascus.
Anastasius of Sinaï. His Questions and Answers.‖ MS.
Ἄσμα ἀσμάτων, with an Exposition (perhaps by M. Psellus.) *See Lamb. lib. iii. p. 77.*
Arrian.
Anthology of Epigrams.
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐξ ἀποῤῥήτων γραμματικῆ.
Ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτίας περὶ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησιῶν;‖ i. e. of the Greek and Roman church.
Æsop.
Ἀνθολογία λέξεων διαφόρων. One volume.
Ælian.
Panoplia** Dogmatica of Euthymius Zigabenus. M.
Ἀποστολικοὶ καὶ συνοδικοὶ κανόνες.††
Athanasius.
Athenæus, Deipnosoph.

* In Euseb. Chron. CIO. IOCCCCLXVII.
† It has not been thought necessary to copy the title of every one of the printed books mentioned in the Catalogue: the names of all the Manuscripts are faithfully transcribed.
‡ Ammonius, son of Hermias, master of John Philoponus.
§ Flourished at about 1120. *See Allatius de Libris Eccles. Græcorum, Paris,* 1646.
‖ Died 599. *See Lamb. Comm. l.* v. *p.* 92.
** See for an account of this work, Lambecius, l. iii. p. 168.
†† Lamb. l. v. p. 230.

Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαϊκά.
Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.
Appian.
Ἀμφιλοχίου,* Μεθοδίου, καὶ Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης, τὰ εὑρισκόμενα.
Ἀντωνίου Κατηφόρου γραμματική.
Ἀριθμητικῆς συνοπτικὴ ἐμμανεία Μπαλάνου (Balanus.)
Ἀλεξάνδρου.
Ἄνθος χαρίτων. †
Ἀσφαλὴς ὁδηγία τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν ἠθικῆς ζωῆς.
Ἀπολουθίαι τῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης.
Æschines.
Ἀζύμων περί.
Ἀετίου ἰατρικόν.
Ἀδὰμ Ζοιρνικαΐου.
Ἀδολεσχία φιλόθεος.
Ἀλεξανδρείας περιγραφή.
Ἀνασκευὴ τῆς τοῦ Βορτίρου βίβλου. (Refutation of a Work of Voltaire.)
Ἁρμονία ἱερογραφική.

B.

Basil. Copies of different parts of his Works.
Βασσαρίωνος γραμματική.
The Logic of Blemmides.‖ MS.
Βαλσαμῶνος** ἐξήγησις τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων. MS.
Lexicon of Phavorinus.
Lives of Saints.
A book called the Pastoral Flute, αὐλὸς ποιμενικός.
Βιβλίον καλούμενον Θησαυρός.
A small MS. of Prayers.
Βλάχος.
Βουλγαρίας†† ἅπαντα.

* Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, died 393. Andrew, archbishop of Crete, died 720.

† See Crusius, Turco-Græc. 222. and Du Cange, App. ad Gloss Gr. in v. τρελός.

‡ "Preces et officia." Αἰκατερίνη (*Catherine;*) sometimes *aspirated;* at other times with a *lenis*, as in *Du Cange*, i. 1140; who also gives *Hæcatherina*, in Index Auct.

§ Born at Amida (*Diarbekr;*) and wrote between the years 540 and 550. *Fab.* ix. 230.

‖ Blemmides lived in the middle of the thirteenth century. His logic was published in 1605, by *Wegelin*.

** Theodore Balsamon, of the twelfth century. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* 596.

†† Of Theophylact. "Achrisis in Bulgaria archiepiscopus 1070 clarus; quem inde Bulgarium vocant." *Fab. B. G.* vii. 586.

Γ.

Gregory of Nazianzum. Various copies.
Holy Scripture.
Γερασίμου βλάχου εἰς τὰ μετεωρολογικά. MS.
Galen.
Gregory of Nyssa.
Γαβριὴλ* φιλαδελφίας περὶ σχισματικῶν. MS.
Γρηγορίου† Κορεσίου κατὰ Λατίνων. MS.
Treatises of Gerasmius.
Harmony of Scripture.
Γορδίου, ὅτι ὁ Πάπας‡ καὶ ὁ Μωάμεθ εἰσὶν ὁ Ἀντίχριστος. MS.
Grammar of Gaza.§

Δ.

Demosthenes.
Dio, and Herodian.
Psalms of David.
Διδασκαλίαι‖ διαφόρων εἰς τὰ κατὰ Κυριακήν.
Diogenes Laertius.
Διαμαντῆ ῥυσίου. (sic.)
Dositheus.
Dionysius the Areopagite. MS.
Διαταγαὶ γάμου Σαμούηλ πατριάρχου.
Διήγησις μερικὴ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστοριῶν (sic) καὶ πρόθασις φιλοσόφου ὑπὲρ (perhaps περὶ) τοῦ θεομάχου Ἡρώδου. MS.
Old and New Testament.
Δογματικὸν** Ἰωάννου Βέκκου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως.
The Grammar of Daniel.

E.

Gospels.
Eustathius.
Epiphanius.
Epictetus.
Euclid.
Etymologicon.

* Gabriel Severus, metropolitan of Philadelphia; "a bare-faced Metousiast." *Covell. Rise of Transubstantiation.*
† Coresius, a friend of Goar. *Euchol.* 678.
‡ "That the Pope and Mahomet are the Antichrist." Πάπας, "the Pope;" πατὰς "a priest."
‖ On which Erasmus read Lectures at Cambridge.
§ Instructions respecting the Lord's Day.
** Veccus, or Beccus, patriarch of Constantinople.

Eusebius.
Encyclopædia. Four volumes.
Selections from different Fathers.§
Euchologium.
'Εξομολογητάριον.* MS.
Tract on Baptism.
Τετρασυαγγέλιον.†
Exposition of the Apocalypse.
Ἑορτολογία.
Euripides.
'Επίσκεψις πνευματικοῦ πρὸς ἀσθενῆ. Visit of a Confessor to a sick person.

Z.

Zonarus.

H.

Hesiod.
Herodian.
Herodotus.

Θ

Themistius,‡ περὶ φυσικῆς
Theodoret.
Theophrastus.
Theocritus.
Theodorus Ptochoprodromus.§
Theodorus's (Abbot of Studium||) Catechetical Discourses.
Theophylact.
Θέατρον πολιτικόν.
Theotoki.
Thomas Magister.

I.

John Chrysostom.

* A Form of Confession, and Direction to Penitents. *Covell*, 280.
† See Du Cange in v. Εὐαγγέλιον.
‡ Born in 317, in Paphlagonia.
§ Perhaps one of the Poems of this Writer (see *Vill. Anec. Gr.* ii. 243,) or his exposition of Sacred Hymns. See *Lamb.* l. v. p. 277. He lived in the beginning of the twelfth century.
|| A monastery at Constantinople. Theodore was born in 796. "Il passe pour un des grands Saints de ce siécle-là parmi Messieurs les Imaginaires; qu'il me soit permis de me servir de ce terme, mille fois plus doux que celui d'Iconolatres." *Bayle Rep. des Lettres, Mars* 1686.

Isidore's* (of Damiata) Letters.
Isocrates.
John of Damascus.†
Justin (ἱστορικόν.)
John Philoponus, περὶ κοσμοποιΐας.‡
The same, εἰς τὰ Ἀναλυτικά.
Justin Martyr.
Justinian, κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων.
John Stobæus.
Julius Pollux.
Other treatises of John Philoponus.
Isaac,§ bishop of Nineveh; τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἀσκητικά.
Josephus.
Ἰσμαὴλ‖ κατά. MS. "Against Mahometanism."
John of Damascus.
Ἰωάννου** σχολαστικοῦ ἡγουμένου Σινᾶ ὅρους.
Hippocrates. Aphorisms.

K.

Κορυδαλέως περὶ Ψυχῆς.
The Logic of the same.
Cyril.
Coresius.††
Καντακουζηνοῦ ἀπολογία κατὰ Λατίνων
Callimachus.
Κλεομήδους κυκλικὴ θεωρία.
Κυριακοδρόμιον.‡‡
Καλλιγραφία.
Clemens Alexandrinus.

A.

Liturgies.
Lucian.

* "One of the most valuable men of the fifth century." *Jortin, E. H.* vi 113.

† Died 750. The last of the Greek Fathers.

‡ See the remark of Lambecius on the title of his work. lib. i. p. 139. The Alexandrine Grammarian flourished in the early part of the seventh century after Christ. Vossius gives a different date: *De Philosoph. Sec.* c. 17. The name of John Philoponnus was afterwards assumed by Le Clerc.

§ Lived in the sixth century.

‖ Cantacusenus wrote, in 1360, a work on this subject.

** John Climacus, called Scholiasticus. This is probably his Life, written by Daniel, monk of Raith.

†† A Constantinopolitan divine; and friend of Goar. *Each.* 678.

‡‡ See Du Cange, Gloss. Græc. p. 771. 1.

Lexica.
Treatises against the Roman Church.

M.

Macarius. Homilies.
Michael Psellus* εἰς τὰ μεταφυσικά. MS.
Macarius. Various treatises.
Meletius on the power of the Pope.
Μίλη ποιητριῶν ἐννέα.
Melissa.†
Μετεώρου περὶ ἐγχειρίδιον.
Μακαρισμὸς τοῦ ἡλιάδου ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον Ὑψηλάντη. Encomium on Prince Ypsilante
Maximus Planudes.
Matthew Blastares.‡
Meletius. Geography.

N.

Nectarius.§
Nicephorus Gregoras.
Νομικὸν βασιλικόν. MS.
Νομοκάνονες.‖

O.

Œcumenius.
Olympiodorus εἰς τὰ μετέωρα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Ὁμηρόκεντρα** καὶ κεντρῶνες

Π

Acts of Synods.
Plutarch.
Pausanias.
Pindar.
Πόλεμος πνευματικός.
Polyænus.
Ποιητῶν τῶν παλαιοτάτων γεωργικά, βουκολικά, καὶ γνωμικά.

* Of the eleventh century.
† Antonius Melissa lived about 760. *Fab. Bib. Græc.* ix. 744. "a studio colligendi Μίλισσα, sive *Apis*, dictus est."
‡ Of the fourteenth century.
§ Patria Cretensis, defunctus anno 1665. *Fab.* ix. 310.
‖ Lamb. l. vi. p. 51.
** Homerici centones.

Πατερικόν. MS.
Πέτρα σκανδάλου.

P.

Ῥητορικὴ Σκούφου.
Ῥαντισμοῦ στηλίτευσις.
Ῥωλίνου τόμοι—15

Σ.

Catenæ Patrum on the Psalms and Matthew.
Sophocles.
Suidas.
Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης.
Simplicius.
Συνοδικὸς νόμος.
Σημειώσεις* διδαχῶν. MS.
Σύνταγμα† κατὰ ἀζύμων.
Συμφωνία τῆς γραφῆς.
Συνεσίου ἐπιστολάριον.
Catena Patrum on the Octateuch.

T.

Τάργα‡ τῆς πίστεως τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Τυπικόν.§

Φ.

Φιλοκαλία.||
Photius.
Philo Judæus.

X.

Χρυσάνθου Νοταρᾶ.
Χριστοφόρου ἐγχειρίδιον, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.
Chrysostom on the Psalms.

* Notes on Homilies.
† Respecting this controversy (concerning unleavened bread) see the note in Lamb. l. iii. p. 65.
‡ Propagnaculum Fidei. *Fab. B.G.* viii. 86. It was edited at Paris in 1658.
§ Perhaps, Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλεσιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας, &c. "The order of reading the service." *Lamb.* l. v. 285.
|| Treatises of some of the Fathers.

Ψ.

Volumes relating to the Psalms.

Ω.

Ὠκέλλου κανά.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ τῶν ἐν ΒΕΜΒΡΑΝΑΙΣ* ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ.

A.

Canons of the Holy Apostles.
Athanasius, without a beginning.
Ἀπόστολος.
Ἀποσούμενα† τῆς θείας γραφῆς.
Exposition of the Acts of Apostles.
Anastasius of Sinaï.
Canons‡ of the Apostles and Fathers.
The Panoplia§ Dogmatica of Alexius Comnenus.
The Exposition,‖ by Zonaras, of the Canones, or Sacred Hymns, of Joannes Damascenus.
Ἀποστολοευαγγέλιον.**

B.

Βασιλειῶν περὶ, ἄναρχον.
Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου δογατικὴ πανοπλία.
Lives of Saints.
Basil. 9 vols.
Basil on the Hexaëmeron. 2 vols.
The same on the Psalms. 2 vols.
The same on Isaiah.

* "A more common form among the later Greeks," says *Salmasius*, "than Μεμβράναις."
† Perhaps the Work of Theodoret, entitled Θεοδωρήτου εἰς τὰ ἄπορα τῆς θείας γραφῆς: or from Maximus, who died in 662. See the first volume of his Works.
‡ See Lamb. l. iv. p. 197.
§ See Fabricius, viii. 329. Bib. Gr.
‖ Κανόνες ἀναστάσιμοι. *See Lamb.* l. iii. p. 39, and the Notes. Zonaras lived in 1120.
** See Du Cange, Glos. Gr. in voce; and Goar. Euchol. 921.

The Ascetica* of the same.
Βουλγαρίας.† 2 vols.
Βιβλίον Τούρκικον.

Γ.

Γρηγορίφ‡ τῷ Θεολόγῳ σχόλια εἰς τὸ "πάλιν Ἰησοῦς" καὶ εἰς τὸ "χθὲς τὴν λαμπρόν."
Of the same author. 9 vols.
Of the same, with Scholia.
Γραφῆς τῆς θείας ζητήματα.
Γρηγορίου§ τοῦ Θεολόγου ἕνα βιβλίον, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι γράψιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, τοῦ ἰδίου γράψιμον.
Gregory of Nyssa.
Exposition of Holy Scripture.
Gregory the Theologue. 2 vols.
Of the same, Epistles.
Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου τετραστίχων ἐξήγησις.
Gregory of Nyssa, and others of the Fathers, on the Lord's Prayer.
Orations of Gregory Nazianzen.
Exposition on the Epistle to the Romans.

Δ.

Demetrius Gemistus,‖ περὶ τῆς ἐν μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ πατριάρχου λειτουργίας.
Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου.
Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου Ἱστορικόν.

Gospels. Various copies.
Εὐαγγελικὴ συμφωνία.
Commentary on the Psalms.
Interpretation of the Old Testament.
Ἐξαποστελάρια** ὅλου τοῦ χρόνου.
Commentary on one of the Gospels.

* "Basil was a grand promoter of an ascetic life: all the monks and nuns in the Greek Church are every where of his order." *Covell.* p. 251.
† See this title in the Printed Books, p. 276.
‡ Gregory of Nazianzum; "cui post Johannem Apostolum pro peculiari panegyrico, et κατ' ἐξοχήν, *Theologi* cognomen adhæsit." *Muratori.*
§ "A work of Gregory Nazianzen, which is in the hand writing of the king Alexius Comnenus. His own handwriting."
‖ Deacon and Prothonotary in Constantinople.
** See Goar, Euchol. p. 436.

Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.
Ἐφραΐμ* λόγοι διάφοροι.

Θ.

Θαλασσίου† τοῦ ἀββᾶ καὶ Ἀντιόχου.
Theodoret on the Psalms.
Theodore, abbot of Studium.

I.

Ἰσιδώρ‡ Βρυεννίου λόγοι διάφοροι.
Theological Enchiridion of John of Damascus.
Exposition of the History of Job.
Ἰωάννου§ τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἡγουμένου τῆς Ῥαϊθοῦ.
The same.
Isidore. Epistles.
Ἰωάννῃ‖ τῷ Θεολόγῳ παρακλήσεις.
Ἰσαὰκ** ἀββᾶ τοῦ Σύρου λόγοι ἀσκητικοί.
Ἰωάσαφ†† βασιλέως Ἰνδῶν βίος.
On the Ten Categories.
John of Damascus.
John Scylitza.‡‡
Ἰατροσοφία. 3 vols.

K.

Κανονάριον.

Λ.

Various Discourses.
Discourses of Chrysostom and others on Lent.

* Ephraem, or Ephraim, born at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. *See Lamb.* l. i. p. 117.
† Abbot of a monastery in Libya. *Cave, Hist. Ecc.*
‡ Lived about 1420. A Byzantine monk.
§ Perhaps the Epistle of John the Abbot of Raith, to John Clinacus. *Lamb.* l. iv. p. 185.
‖ Παρακλήσεις, *Prayers.* St. John is called in the Menæa, Ἀρχηγὸς τῆς θεολογίας.
** Lived in the sixth century.
†† Historia Judaica de Barlaamo eremita, et Josapho rege Indie." *Fabr* ix. 737.
‡‡ John Scylitza, a Thracesian by birth, wrote an Epitome of History. *Lamb.* l. ii. p. 578.
§§ Collection from the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, and Meletius.

Y.

Ὑπακοῆς* περὶ λαὶ ἄλλων ἀρετῶν.

X.

Χρυσοστομικά. τόμοι 42.
Chrysostom. 8 vols.

* Perhaps from Theodore of Studium. See Yriarte, Cat. Bib. Mat. p. 18.